THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 150 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JUNE 8, 1940 NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP UP WITH THE defense measures tumbling through Congress or emerging from the President's study. Up to the hour of going to press, the score for the past week was as follows: Senate and House appropriated $15,000,000 to start work on a third set of locks for the Panama Canal. Both houses approved a bill to increase naval strength by 11 per cent and provide the navy with 10,000 planes manned by 16,000 pilots. The President stepped up the $3,300,000,000 arms program by another billion dollars; the whole vast measure is, of course, still under consideration. Two financial bills were introduced in the House: one to raise the debt limit to $48,000,000,000 and another to increase taxes by $656,000,000 annually for the next five years. This proposal is discussed by Keith Hutchison in Everybody's Business on page 708. The President has further indicated that he will urge a 10 per cent slash in all government spending not connected with defense. An advisory council, comparable to the War Industries Board of the last war, was appointed by the President to supervise the economic defense program. The most controversial event of the week was the President's request for authority to call the National Guard and army reserve into active service if necessary to "safeguard neutrality" and bolster the national defense. This met resistance arising from a feeling that such powers should not be handed to the President unless the need for them is fully explained. If a situation exists that makes military action seem imminent or even possible in the near future, the President should tell the people and Congress what it is. If he cannot tell, he should say so and explain why.

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THE BOMBING OF PARIS ALMOST CERTAINLY preludes a new and even more dreadful phase of the war. The Germans claim they were attacking air fields, but forced by the defense to fly at tremendous heights, they scattered their missiles over a wide area, killing many civilians. Inevitably the Allies will retaliate on military objectives near German cities, with similar results. Reports from Berlin suggest that the Paris raid is preliminary to a new major offensive against the French lines along the Somme and Aisne, which may be accompanied by Italy's entry into the war and an attack on France through the Alpine passes. But the Flanders pocket has not yet been cleared up, and Allied troops are still holding Dunkirk. It seems clear that a large part of the armies which, a week ago, the Germans claimed were completely trapped have been evacuated. Moreover, Allied morale has been restored by the dogged success with which the British and French troops fought their way out of an impossible position, after their left flank had been exposed by Leopold's surrender. The evacuation also shows that the British navy is neither sunk nor helpless but a force very much to be reckoned with should the Germans attempt to invade Britain.

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ALTHOUGH ITALY HAD NOT ENTERED THE war at the hour of going to press, it seems unlikely that the fateful step will be much longer delayed. During the past week a series of measures have been taken which admit no other interpretation. Blackouts have been put into effect in the industrial cities of northern Italy; negotiations with Britain for lessening blockade restrictions have been canceled; Italian children have been called home from strategic Greek islands in the Mediterranean; the 1942 World's Fair in Rome has been indefinitely postponed. Mobilization is reported to be virtually complete. It now appears that, at the outset at least, the Italian attack will be directed primarily against France and England, though there is a chance that Greece will be taken into "protective" custody. Tension between Italy and Yugoslavia has been materially reduced, possibly because of the sudden and decisive improvement in Soviet-Yugoslav relations. Hungary, which a few weeks ago seemed likely to be involved, suspended mobilization after a conference with Premier Molotov in Moscow. Another factor quieting the Balkans has been the weakening of Allied influence as a result of the setback suffered by Britain and France in Belgium. Bowing to the inevitable, Rumania replaced its pro-Ally Foreign

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

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Minister, Grigore Gafencu, by Ion Gigurtu, who is openly sympathetic to Germany. Turkey remains the one country having territory in Southeastern Europe which can definitely be counted on to oppose Axis penetration.

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REPORTS OF FIFTH-COLUMN ACTIVITIES IN Latin America have suddenly cropped up on all sides. A great deal has been written in the past two years about German trade and cultural penetration in South America. It now appears that in addition to their annoying but legitimate activities some of the German groups, particularly those in Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile, are highly organized on a semi-military basis. Pressure is being brought by the Gestapo in several of these countries to line up Germans whose zeal for the Nazi cause is in doubt. Parades by Nazi sympathizers are reported from Chile and Ecuador. German air lines continue to operate in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and parts of Argentina. Sensational reports have also come from Colombia and Mexico. Appraisal of these charges of subversive activity is difficult because the situation differs widely in the various Latin American countries. At one extreme we have such reports as those from Mexico, which, as Harry Block maintains elsewhere in this issue, may be strongly colored by propagandistic efforts by the oil companies to discredit the Cárdenas regime on the eve of a general election. The correspondents making these allegations have been called before Mexican authorities and challenged to provide evidence to substantiate their charges. At the other extreme are Brazil, with its compact German minority of two million, and Uruguay, with its effective, though much smaller, German organization. While it is easy to exaggerate the threat of these Nazi activities to our security, they cannot be disregarded.

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THE CONSTITUTION IS BEING TRAMPLED ON in Congressional agitation over possible alien "fifth columnists," and some very odd people are ostensibly trying to hamstring the Trojan horse. One of them is Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, who has not been noticeably anti-Nazi in the past. Reynolds has amended the La Follette civil-liberties bill to forbid the employment of more than 10 per cent of aliens in any industry engaged in interstate commerce. We hope the House will excise this nonsense before passing the bill. If the House doesn't, the Supreme Court will. Just before the last war Arizona passed a law that in all business enterprises in the state employing more than five persons at least 80 per cent of the personnel must be citizens. The law was declared unconstitutional in 1915, and Chief Justice Hughes, then an associate justice, said for the court, "It requires no argument to show that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal liberty and opportunity that it was the purpose of the [Fourteenth] Amendment to secure. The discrimination is against aliens as such in competition with citizens in the described range of enterprises, and in our opinion it clearly falls under the condemnation of the fundamental law."

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GEORGIA, WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE HAD THE worst attack of anti-alien hysteria, has an Attorney General, Ellis Arnall, who has asked all the state's Senators and Congressmen to amend the Constitution in order to remove its protection from aliens. Why not just remove the Bill of Rights altogether? The reality of a fifth-column menace has been demonstrated by European experience, but its exaggeration and abuse may themselves become a weapon of fifth-column subversion. Some of those talking loudest about the fifth column seem to be our own potential Quislings. Louis F. Post's famous "deportations delirium" after the last war disclosed the extent to which apparent attacks on aliens may be turned into attacks on the rights of citizens. During the Alien and Sedition Law excitement in 1798 James Madison raised his voice in effective protest against attacks on the alien. We suggest that Governor Rivers of Georgia, who seems bent on driving all aliens out of his state, Governor James of Pennsylvania, and other overheated super-patriots have a look at the speeches Madison made in Congress at the time. Madison was not a fifth columnist, although suspiciously friendly to the French Revolution. He was only the father of that subversive document, the Constitution of the United States.

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"NOW I KNOW HOW QUEZON FEELS," SAID Mayor LaGuardia at one minute after midnight on June 2, when he embarked on the country's greatest experiment in municipal socialism by taking over the B.-M. T. subway and bus lines for the city of New York. The other privately operated rapid-transit system, the Interborough, will be taken over on June 12. By his cryptic remark the Mayor meant that, like Quezon and Philippine independence, having obtained the subway lines he wasn't sure he wanted them. His uneasiness is no product of a neurotic imagination. New York's great banking interests and newspapers, which pawed the air frantically when the Mayor wanted to build a $45,000,000 light plant, were strangely enthusiastic over his plan to bring the privately operated rapid-transit lines under public ownership. The reason for their enthusiasm was that the private lines were losing more and more money as a result of rising labor costs and increasing competition from New York's newest subway system, the publicly owned Independent line. The price paid for the private lines is about $180,000,000 more

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than the cold-blooded stock market thought them worth, and the principal benefit to the public of this experiment in public ownership will be a higher subway fare.

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NATIONAL DEFENSE, THE THIRD-TERM ISSUE, and personal rivalries have combined to bring to a boil the seething pot of organized labor. Within the past few weeks Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers and David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers celebrated their twenty-fifth and fortieth anniversaries, respectively. In both cases the conventions were made the occasion for sharp criticism of John L. Lewis's leadership of the C. I. O., pleas for genuine efforts toward peace with the A. F. of L., and expressions of boundless enthusiasm for a third helping of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The differences were largely of degree. Dubinsky charged C. I. O. leaders with full responsibility for failure to patch up the quarrel and brought the I. L. G. W. U. almost to the point of returning to the A. F. of L. fold. Officially what keeps him still from the Green pastures is the failure of the Federation to clean out its racketeers and its autocratic suspension of dissenting affiliates. Beyond these excellent reasons, however, lies Mr. Dubinsky's distaste at the prospect of finding himself cheek by jowl with some of the Republican hierarchs of the A. F. of L. at a time when his union is passionate about keeping the New Deal in office. And there are those who see in his hesitancy the added consideration that perhaps changes are pending in the control of the C. I. O. that might make it worth his while to look before he leaps.

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CERTAIN IT IS THAT JOHN L. LEWIS'S STOCK has slumped badly of recent weeks. His prediction of an "ignominious defeat" for Roosevelt should he try for a third term, his dark hints of a third party, his extreme isolationist position, and his opposition to the defense plans of the Administration—all have met with the sourest possible reception in the numerically greatest units of his organization. Lewis's loss has been Hillman's gain, and the Amalgamated chief reached a peak of prestige last week when Roosevelt appointed him as labor's sole representative on his Advisory Commission on National Defense. Hillman's new position may explain his urgent plea for peace in the labor movement, but he is not likely to achieve more success than Lewis unless the Federation, stung to the quick by the appointment, is given a place in the Presidential councils. As for his grip on the C. I. O., much will depend on the special meeting of the executive board which is being held as we go to press. Numerically, Hillman has the membership, but with each union entitled to one representative on the board, Lewis still has the votes.

Saving the Front Line

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE rush of Hitler's legions to the Channel; the threatened invasion of England; the imminent drive toward Paris—these are making American policy. For beyond these horrifying realities lies the much more menacing possibility of a total German victory with consequences for the United States which can still only be guessed at. Even the isolationists go no farther, these days, than to decry "hysteria" and insist that Germany can never physically attack this continent. They no longer argue the doctrine of American economic or political immunity. We all know that a Nazi victory will mean either American submission to German domination of world trade or a stubborn, solitary resistance, backed by economic and military weapons as mighty and ruthless as those of triumphant fascism. Neither prospect pleases; but no one doubts we shall choose the second.

In fact we have already chosen. We shall resist. We will not be *gleichgeschaltet* without a struggle, and we have the resources for a mighty struggle. So much is settled already. Our decision is implicit in a succession of requests from the President answered by swift enactments in Congress. In a headlong rush we are attempting to make up for lost time and lost money. We are repenting of our complacence. In our eagerness to prepare for what may happen we are already committing many foolish acts which will have to be rescinded. Taken together, however, the defense measures passed by Congress and others still under consideration represent a united American determination to resist with all possible weapons the threat to our future.

But the primary step in defending America against the consequences of a Nazi victory is neither a vast arms program nor measures to stamp out fifth columnists, real or imagined. The first step is to prevent a Nazi victory if it is still possible. At this moment France and Britain are defending a line that is, in a sense both actual and immediate, our own front line. If that line holds, many of our frantic enactments of the past week can be repealed or modified. If it is lost, those measures will serve only as a foretaste of what is to come.

In the last four years democracy has lost several crucial front lines. One was in Spain. That was handed to the fascist enemy by the British and French, with the United States as an active accessory. Another was in Czechoslovakia. That was handed to the enemy by the British and French without interference from the United States, unless the President's unheeded appeals for peace can be rated as protests. Since September of 1939 the line has moved westward, country by country. And the British and French have learned the hateful lesson that fascism cannot be held off by surrendering to fascism.

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Perhaps they have learned it too late. That we do not yet know. We only know that they learned it late enough to imperil their own national existence, to make their present defense a struggle against final extinction.

So far the United States has only half learned the lesson. We were shocked by the betrayal of Spain and Czechoslovakia—a majority of us, at least—but only as we might be shocked by the murder of an innocent man. Only a few Americans recognized it as an attack on our own safety, a threat to the future of democracy in this land and in our own time. We were much more shocked by the successive swift conquests of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, with all those conquests revealed of fascist preparation and penetration, of democratic unreadiness and demoralization.

Today we are both shocked and frightened by the spectacle of Britain and France at bay, retreating slowly, face to the enemy. We are frightened enough to scramble toward a state of preparedness in this country. But isn't it obvious, and shouldn't it be understood, that the present front line against fascism is now held by France and Britain with the support of their empires? Criminally and tragically, they refused help to the nations that held the line before them. Shall we, criminally and tragically, refuse help to France and Britain? If we do, we shall deserve the fate that Hitler's victory promises.

We are selling planes and guns for French and British cash; we are sending them in foreign ships. But only a few so far, and too slowly. We still haggle over terms and watchfully guard the letter if not the spirit of our neutrality law. Instead of looking upon arms for the Allies as arms for our own defense, we wonder how much of our production can be spared for Allied orders.

But powerful forces are beginning to realize the imminent need of far greater and speedier aid. The President himself sees the alternative clearly, and has said that necessary war goods for France and Britain should take precedence even over American army orders. Wendell Willkie in one of his most effective political speeches said, "If Britain and France lick Hitler now, we may be saved billions of dollars, billions of tons of armaments, billions of hours of wasted effort and unfruitful work." The isolationist chorus in the colleges has been offset by some realistic pronouncements from officials and teachers and even from students. And several organized groups, notably the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by William Allen White, are crystallizing sentiment and focusing it on the proper authorities in Washington.

On the pages which follow, *The Nation* analyzes specific proposals for immediate measures to aid the anti-Hitler forces. Such proposals are urgent. They cannot be delayed while Congress debates future foreign policy or even the size of the army and navy. They are the first step in an American defense program.

What America Can Do

PLANES

IN THE moving accounts of the Battle of Flanders given to American correspondents by the battered survivors, there is a recurring theme: if only we had more planes, more guns, more tanks, but particularly more planes. Man for man these Allied soldiers believe they were a good match for the Nazis, and their orderly retreat, under conditions which would have excused demoralization among the best troops, proves that they are not boasting. But there is no doubt about the superior weight of the German equipment, and that superiority remains even though the fighting of the past three weeks may have reduced somewhat the Nazis' edge in the air.

Recognizing, as we do, that the Allies are manning a front-line trench between us and danger, we ought to ask whether we are doing everything in our power to help them hold that position. Time is Hitler's enemy. In a year or eighteen months our industry may be geared up to the point of providing Britain and France with an overwhelming margin in material; but that may be too late. The vital need is for deliveries now, when every additional plane in hand is worth six in an uncertain future.

We are indebted to Elspeth Freudenthal, author of a recently published book, "The Aviation Business: From Kitty Hawk to Wall Street," for some cold statistical facts about shipments of aviation material from this country to the Allies. Very large figures have filled the headlines, but these refer to orders. Deliveries are another matter. Actually orders have been placed for 7,700 planes of all types, of which roughly 2,000 have been delivered. But this second figure includes shipments made a considerable time before the war started; during the eight months from September, 1939, to April, 1940, only 832 planes and 1,300 engines have been dispatched to Britain, France, and Canada. This is not a very impressive showing when we consider that the capacity of our aviation industry has been doubled in the past year and is now upward of 10,000 war planes annually. However, only about 60 per cent of that capacity is employed, and the rate of output is about 500 units a month, with prospects of an increase to 700 later in the year. Assuming an average delivery of 350 machines monthly to the Allies, it will take more than sixteen months to work off current orders.

We shall not attempt to blame anyone for this state of affairs. As intricate an industry as aviation cannot be changed from a peace footing to a war footing overnight even if its needs are given complete priority over those of all other forms of production. There are bottle-necks to be overcome in machine tools, in labor, in materials, and in engines; and there are difficulties caused by lack of standardization. If production could be concentrated

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on a half-dozen types, as it is in Germany today, a far higher output could be achieved.

It has been reported from time to time that delays have resulted from hesitancy in placing orders on the part of the Allied Purchasing Commission. We have reason to believe that there is little truth in this charge, but, in some instances, negotiations may have been unduly protracted by the difficulty of agreeing on terms. For in accepting Allied orders American aviation manufacturers have not only made certain of handsome profits but have also sought to exclude all risks. Thus the Allies have advanced capital funds for the expansion of the three main engine companies. In the case of the Pratt-Whitney and Curtiss-Wright concerns this took the form of a premium of $3,500 a motor on each of 6,000 ordered by France. As large airplane engines cost from $12,000 to $15,000, it can be seen that this added very appreciably to costs.

The reluctance of the War Department to release certain late types of aircraft also seems to have caused some delay. Its objections finally yielded to Presidential intervention, but the army was able to insist on terms which, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of April 3, mean that the Allies "must pay not only the development costs on the units they buy but must pay the development costs on the improved models to be built later for the army." In other words, while we are still hoping that the Allies will save us from the necessity of fighting Hitler, we are charging them handsomely for the privilege.

The President has declared that nothing done to expand our air fleet should be allowed to hinder deliveries to the Allies. But beyond that we ought to see whether a way cannot be found to make available a worth-while reinforcement of machines from government reserves. In the development of our own air service the most immediate need is for training planes; until we have more pilots, large numbers of new bombers and fighters will be of little use. Could we not therefore turn in to the manufacturers some hundreds of war planes which they could resell to the Allies? These might not be the latest types, but in the present crisis any serviceable machines would be welcome on the other side. This is the proposal which has been put forward by Senator Pepper of Florida. We hope Congress will act on it as a matter of urgency.

CREDITS

THE GERMAN successes of the past two months have serious economic as well as military implications for the Allies. The little countries which have been overrun or cut off were leading sources of supply. From Scandinavia and Holland, Britain purchased large quantities of meat and dairy produce. Imports of steel from Belgium, chemicals from Norway, and timber products from Sweden and Finland had great economic and military importance. Now the Allies must try to make up for their loss elsewhere, and much of the business will come here.

Allied resources in the United States are still large, but the burden on them must inevitably be greatly increased by these developments. At the same time the collapse in Wall Street has reduced the value of securities owned by the Allies by 20 per cent or more, while making their liquidation more difficult. Under these circumstances the repeal of the Johnson Act and of the ban on credits in the Neutrality Act has become a matter on which quick action ought to be taken. For the Allies would then be able to pledge the securities they control and wait for the better market which is likely to come unless Germany carries its campaign to a victorious conclusion this summer.

There is no need here to review once again the old arguments for and against giving credit to a belligerent. Hitler's sweep across the Low Countries and into northern France has forced us to face the fact that we have a definite, selfish, material stake in Allied victory quite aside from the question of whether we "invest" in it or not. We now know that if France and Britain are overcome, we shall, at best, have to devote a huge part of our resources to defense; at worst we shall be compelled to fight for democratic existence alone. Even if we freely give billions to the Allies, that is likely to prove a cheap price.

It may be said, of course, that this is not a matter of immediate urgency: Why not wait until the Allies' funds are exhausted and then reconsider the matter? But so long as the prohibition on credit holds, the Allies must proceed on the assumption that their own resources will have to suffice, however long drawn out the war may prove. They will be forced to be niggardly in their buying, to forego essentials in order to make certain of absolute necessities. The present state of the war is far too critical to permit such a policy to be pursued with safety, and we shall be shortsighted about our own interests if we insist that they follow it.

REFUGEES

THE EXISTENCE of five million war refugees—women, children, and old people—presents a responsibility and an opportunity that America cannot evade. In the last war the United States earned the gratitude of the entire world by feeding and caring for millions of civilian victims of the conflict. Today the suffering is far more widespread. The millions who fled from the path of the Nazi juggernaut as it rolled across the Netherlands, Belgium, and northern France seek shelter in a country already overcrowded with persons in a similar plight. For the last year France has been caring for more than 150,000 Spanish refugees. In recent months it has received tens of thousands from regions bordering on the Maginot Line. Even in normal times it is inconceivable that a country the size of France could shoulder this burden alone. In war time, with its entire male popula-

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tion mobilized and fighting for the nation's existence, it cannot begin to care for these people. Hundreds of thousands may starve unless aid comes from abroad.

And this may be just the beginning. Even if the present Allied lines hold firm, millions of additional civilians will in all probability seek refuge from Nazi air attacks. Another Nazi break-through would swell the total to tens of millions. In that case an emergency would arise such as the world has never seen. The lives of untold numbers would depend on immediate, almost superhuman action on the part of the American people.

It is not necessary to bring this horde of unfortunates to the United States. By far the greater part of them can best be cared for in France and England, provided food, clothing, and other necessities can be sent to them. The Red Cross has made a brave start by boosting the quota of its war-relief drive from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000. But obviously much more will be needed, and needed quickly. Food, clothing, medical supplies are required—not merely money. It happens that the United States government has in its warehouses a vast amount of wheat and cotton, together with other agricultural surplus products. Is it unreasonable to ask that Congress, which is spending billions on emergency defense measures, ship part of these surpluses to Europe for immediate civilian relief? In addition, it should make a cash appropriation of at least $100,000,000 for the purchase and shipment of supplies not found in the government warehouses.

Supplies and money may salve our consciences, but they will not meet the entire problem. Among the refugees are many thousands who cannot be cared for in Europe. An invasion of England or a further invasion of France, necessitating the evacuation of cities like London and Paris, will not only increase the number of refugees but will cut down the area in which they will be safe from dive-bombers and machine-gun fire. And among them are many—such as the Spanish and anti-fascist German refugees—for whom there is no haven in Europe. There are also tens of thousands of children for whom no decent provision can be made in the midst of war. Simple humanity demands that at least some of these be given temporary shelter in the United States.

In saying this, we recognize that the opposition to the admission of refugees is probably greater today, in some quarters, than ever before. Many sincere, generous persons have been so frightened by the stories of fifth-column activities in the Netherlands and Norway that they are afraid to let in aliens, however desperate their need; another group still fears that refugees will take the jobs of good Americans. Both of these fears are legitimate, but we can take steps to protect ourselves against such real dangers as exist without closing our doors on the innocent victims of the Nazi terror. The Department of Justice has ways of dealing with genuine fifth-column elements, and already has the power to eliminate any dubious refugees who may seek entrance. As far as unemployment is concerned, it should be recognized that the greater number of persons needing aid are women, children, and older persons—potential consumers, not producers. A few may be employable, and these might be admitted frankly on a relief basis; individuals or organizations would be required to assume responsibility for their support during the war. German refugees, who have little hope of ever returning to their native land, would obviously have to be excepted.

The established quotas are much too small to allow the entrance of any significant number of aliens during this crisis. Instead of attempting revision at this time, Congress should recognize the emergency and make provision for the admission of a large number under the sponsorship of private relief organizations such as the Red Cross. A minimum of 100,000 should be admitted on a temporary basis, in addition to those who may enter under the quotas. The cost of bringing 100,000 refugees here and caring for them would be little to pay for the preservation of those humanitarian traditions which represent Americanism at its best.

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Mr. Jackson's Dilemma

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, June 3

DESPITE the recent shift of political tides, the unhappiest man in Washington these days is not a Republican. He is Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, upon whom has been thrust the task of defending the Bill of Rights from the gravest dangers that have threatened it since 1918. A thankless task it is, too, for the Attorney General must winnow from the genuine threats against our American democracy the alien-baiting and the other forms of minority oppression that are prejudicial to our American concept of civil liberties.

To one as sensitive to the delicacy of such distinctions as Bob Jackson, the separation of spy, sabotage, and fifth-column activities from perfectly legal but perhaps unpopular expressions of opinion by our political minorities presents tremendous problems. (Twenty-two years ago, the young city attorney of Jamestown, New York, stood fast against war hysteria and refused to adopt extremist proposals.) Perhaps the one encouraging aspect of the situation is the fact that Jackson is fully aware of the pitfalls before him but is nevertheless determined to steer a middle course. He knows he is going to be subject to bitter criticism from both patrioteers and libertarians, and he knows that—whatever his decisions may be—they will not add to his political or personal popularity. With equal realism he admits that the 3,600,000 aliens legally in the United States and the estimated 100,000 illegally here face harassment, discrimination, and persecution even with the Attorney General looking out for them.

Jackson was not consulted beforehand on the transfer of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization from the Labor to the Justice Department and was not anxious to add its problems to his already monumental woes. But he is now convinced that the move has three marked advantages: (1) it coordinates the "internal" elements of the national defense program; (2) it permits a thorough reorganization of a bureau which has long allowed immigrants to be victimized; and (3) it gives aliens more adequate protection against extremist measures taken by state and local authorities. All three contentions are debatable, of course; particularly so since the Attorney General himself is the victim of interference from the White House, which the FBI's John Edgar Hoover now visits regularly for an approving pat on the head.

Jackson's present plans call for a complete housecleaning of the bureau by Solicitor General Francis Biddle, whose liberal record is not to be ignored, and its establishment on an equal footing with the FBI and the Bureau of Prisons. Furthermore, unless President Roosevelt again intervenes, Mr. Hoover, who has long been itching to get his hands on the agency and who is suspected of no little responsibility for the transfer, will not have a part in the new set-up. The rest is not so cheerful. Jackson is genuinely convinced that registration—which includes photographs and fingerprints of aliens—is not only inevitable but desirable. This has long been the practice in Europe and, Jackson believes, may be the solution of the civil-liberties problems involved. Whether a federal registration law would actually forestall or counteract the vicious anti-alien legislation proposed in Congress and some of the Southern states is, however, extremely doubtful.

A flood of such proposals is already pouring into the Congressional hopper. Last week the Senate passed the La Follette civil-liberties bill by a vote of forty-seven to twenty, thereby reaching a new low in legislative hypocrisy. The original measure was intended to outlaw labor spies and professional strike-breakers, but amendments attached by Senator Reynolds of North Carolina would make it a criminal offense—subject to $10,000 fine and five years' imprisonment—for employers in interstate commerce to give more than one job in ten to aliens or to hire Communists or Bundists at all. (Characteristically, the Senate exempted sugar-beet growers and other agriculturalists so that they could employ cheap Mexican labor.) Reynolds has also introduced a resolution calling for a special Senate investigation of those fifth columnists who may, by some miracle, escape the Dies committee. Chairman Dies, not to be outdone, wants another $100,000 to continue his work. Congressman Celler of New York is seeking to legalize FBI wiretapping in the face of two Supreme Court rulings prohibiting the practice; and Dies wants to outlaw the Communist Party and the Bund.

Fortunately the distorted La Follette bill has met obstacles in the House, where it has been shelved by the Labor Committee; but there is no assurance that the alien-registration measure indorsed by Jackson will have the same happy effect upon the other noxious proposals. In its present mood Congress is likely to pass anything labeled "for national defense."

Where the Attorney General faces his most pressing problem, however, is in counteracting the fifth-column scare. With state authorities calling on all aliens to register "or else," and with even the Hobos of America

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pledging themselves to be on the lookout for "fifth-column stuff," Jackson has been more than just remiss about informing the public as to the true facts of the situation. These are that the Department of Justice—as well as the Army and Navy Intelligence Corps—knows the names, habitats, and activities of all the important foreign spies and saboteurs now in the United States. If so inclined, the federal government could tomorrow pick up every foreign agent of importance now at large. What is more, federal officials have been keeping these agents under surveillance for months, if not years, and in a majority of cases prefer to continue this course. After all, it is better to keep watch on a spy or saboteur than to take him out of circulation and have to worry about his successor.

Privately, the Justice Department regards the mysterious fifth columnists as far less dangerous than current activities to repulse them. Jackson points out that for Trojan horse activities to be effective three elements must combine—paid foreign agents, a sympathetic group within our borders, and national indifference—and that there is no immediate threat of such a combination. It is too bad he was not so frank in his official announcement calling upon the citizenry to report "acts, threats, or evidences of sabotage, espionage, or other disloyal activities"—to which the response was immediate and frightening: the New York office of the FBI received 120 "complaints" within twenty-four hours, and vigilante groups, including 200,000 volunteer firemen along the Atlantic coast and female rifle clubs in half a dozen states, mushroomed overnight.

Actually, as the Attorney General is the first to admit, the danger which the country faces from parachutists and iron filings in airplane motors is not so great as that overhanging citizens and aliens with crew haircuts or "foreign accents." The latter, of course, is Jackson's major problem, one which he fortunately recognizes. His promise—and it comes from a man as sincerely devoted to civil liberties as anyone in the nation—is that he will not countenance any invasion of civil rights if he can prevent it. The unfortunate part is that he may not be able to prevent it.

Here Comes "PM"

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

THE amazing thing about *PM*, New York's forthcoming afternoon tabloid, is that it is based on the ideas of people who said it could never be done. For despite the advance publicity given to such new manufacturing gadgets as frozen ink and a revolving color scheme, *PM* represents first of all a revolt against the prevailing modes of American journalism. It refutes the long-established credo: papers with advertising can't be honest and papers without advertising can't exist. *PM* will be a liberal, mass-circulation newspaper, but unlike its predecessors that have died aborning or been driven from their chosen course, it will not attempt to exist on the sufferance of reactionary forces. It has kicked over the controls that keep newspapers from attaining ideal journalistic excellence and social objectivity. In order not to be influenced by advertisers, *PM* will carry no paid advertising; in order not to be controlled by wealthy backers, it has accepted aid from no one who was unwilling to waive from the start all prerogatives in the formation of editorial policy. If there is reason to fear that even these safeguards may in the end prove insufficient, it is at least true that at the outset the editors are able to work with a feeling of responsibility only to themselves and to their readers.

Two weeks before the scheduled appearance of *PM* the air is still thick with the rumors that have surrounded it since the days when it was a mysterious venture known simply as Publications Research, but the facts are to be had for the investigation. The paper has been financed, on the terms of stockholder non-intervention, to the extent of $1,500,000. The legal guaranty of management control is a five-year employment contract between the twenty directors representing the preferred stock and Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, the former Time, Inc., executive who is *PM's* founder, editor, and publisher. The contract, which has been accompanied by $500,000 worth of insurance on Ingersoll's life as investment protection, gives him "complete, absolute, and exclusive power to formulate the editorial, advertising, circulation, production, and promotion policies."

Under Ingersoll's direction a staff of well over one hundred business and editorial workers is now on the job. Housed in a three-story brick and stucco factory in downtown Brooklyn, which will gradually be transformed into modern, permanent editorial offices, they are producing trial issues daily, systematizing the division of labor, and discussing such all-important problems as whether to get final baseball scores into the last edition. Barring last-minute obstacles, the first regular issue of *PM*, a neat package of thirty-two pages, smaller and squarer than a regular tabloid, will be on the streets in the forenoon of June 18.

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Journalistically, *PM* is not so much a complete innovation as a new combination of patterns and techniques developed and tested elsewhere. Ingersoll, whose personality will be reflected in every comma of the new paper, has been managing editor of the *New Yorker* and *Fortune*, publisher of *Time*, and supervisor of *Life* in its pre-publication stages. From talking with him and reading his early prospectuses and memorandums, one gathers that he is leaning heavily on his experience with those four publications in designing his own paper. Although he insists that *PM* will not be written in "Time-style," its writers are being trained to present details according to a theory of interest and relevance that is almost the sum of *Time's* method. "In *PM*," Ingersoll has written, "the murder will not take place in 'Number 2614 Amsterdam Avenue' but 'in a six-story brick tenement house in upper Amsterdam Avenue (Number 2614), the ground floor of which is shared by a German delicatessen and a Polish newsdealer.'" *PM's* departmental system, its search for human interest in routine stories, its use of pictures "to tell a story, not merely to illustrate it," its exploitation of news in literature and the arts—all these have been seen before, though they have not been used widely or all in combination in daily journalism.

Aside from better and livelier writing, *PM's* handling of orthodox news will be marked by the use of common sense in space allotment. The news will first be assigned to one of the usual departments—local, national, foreign, business, sports, and the like. The editor of the department will then decide, in consultation with the city desk, whether the story is to be told in words or pictures. If pictures are used, the job is one for artists, photographers, map and chart makers, morgue researchers, and caption writers. If words are to be the medium, the piece will be studied for further classification within the department.

According to its significance for the reader, a story will be handled in one of four ways. Prominently placed in each section will be an article by its editor bringing together in a running account all the developments of the day in his field. News covered in orthodox stories will of course be mentioned in this column, but it will also be a receptacle for stray items and follow-ups that ordinarily get lost at the bottom of end pages; the effort will be to corral in one article the news that other papers distribute through five or six. In addition, each section will have two columns of random marginalia: For the Record and File and Forget. The first will carry important news of little interest; the second, interesting news of little importance. In the national news section, for example, For the Record might report a prominent Senator's indorsement of a Presidential aspirant, while File and Forget would announce the engagement of the daughter of the Governor of Ohio to the star outfielder

Who's Who on "PM"

The following is a partial list of persons on *PM's* editorial staff, with their former affiliations:

Editor and Publisher—Ralph Ingersoll, *Time*
Managing Editor—George H. Lyon, Scripps-Howard
Assistant Managing Editors—John Lewis, Scripps-Howard; Lowell L. Leake, Washington *Post;* Herbert Yahres, Associated Press; Elmer Roesner, New York *World-Telegram*
National News Editor—Forbes Parkhill, Denver *Post*
Foreign News Editor—Robert Neville, *Time*
Chief of Washington Bureau—Kenneth Crawford, New York *Post, The Nation*
Press Editor—Hodding Carter, Delta (Mississippi) *Star-Times*
City Editor—Wesley Price, *American Magazine*
Labor Editor—Leo Huberman, author of "We the People" and "The Labor Spy Racket"
Business News Editor—Nathaniel Keith, *Wall Street Journal*
Special Assignment Photographer — Margaret Bourke-White, *Life*
Art Director—T. M. Cleland, designer of *Fortune*
Art Editor—Charles Tudor, *Life*
Picture Editor—William McCleery, *Life*
Photo Manager—Harry Baker, International News Service
Drama Editor—Louis Kronenberger, *Time*
Music Editor—Henry W. Simon, Teachers College
Radio Editor—John T. McManus, *Time*
Movie Editor—Cecelia Ager, *Variety*
Art Critic—Irene Sacartoff
Sports Editor—Joseph F. Cummiskey
News for Living Editor—Elizabeth Hawes, author of "Fashion Is Spinach"
Advertising Digest—Otho J. Hicks, National Retail Dry Goods Association
"Presearch" Editor—Tom Davin, *Cosmopolitan*
Assistant departmental editors, staff writers, and artists include: Duncan Aikman, Carl Randau, David Ramsey, James Wechsler, Leon Goodelman, Leane Zugsmith, Robert Rice, Sutherland Denlinger, B. R. Crisler, Jules Korchien, Charles Abermeyer, Harold Vatter, Helen Gwynn, Charlotte Adams, Helen Canavarro, Dan Fitzpatrick, William Sharp, Charles Martin, Leo Hirschfield, John Kobler, and others.

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of the Cleveland Indians. Such items will be disposed of in fifty words or less, allowing space for really extended treatment, in regular stories, of news that is both interesting and important.

Once the founders had resolved to do away with paid advertising, their job was to devise a commercial formula whereby the paper could succeed on the basis of sales alone. The formula they hit on was five cents for a smaller paper. But while Ingersoll and his collaborators realized that reliance on advertising revenue often proves subversive of editorial integrity, they also knew that to great numbers of women readers the news coming out of Gimbel's bargain basement is as exciting as a *Blitzkrieg* and as important as election results. An $18.98 dress going for $7.49 is news, and the paper that does not announce it is as remiss as one that fails to cover the New Jersey primaries.

So *PM* has developed a substitute for advertising. In place of the large and elaborate layouts occupying more than half the total space of most papers, it will attempt to sift the actual news—bargains, new styles, new processes—from the ads appearing in other newspapers and present them in a section of from two to four pages called Advertising Digest. Messengers will pick up copy and proofs from advertisers two or three days in advance of publication and bring them to the *PM* office, where a staff of consumer experts will delete the ballyhoo and white space. Each item described in *PM* will be illustrated by a thumbnail sketch. In the case of advertised products critical and analytical judgments will be suspended; other members of the staff, however, will furnish reports accompanied by an expression of editorial opinion on commodities not advertised in any of the day's papers. All this, of course, will be pie for the merchants. How the other newspapers will react to a competitor giving free space remains to be seen.

Advertising Digest will actually be only part of a much larger section called News for Living, which will be under the direction of Elizabeth Hawes, the eminent dress designer and anti-faddist. This is perhaps *PM's* only genuine innovation. Here housing, medicine, education, and amusements will be discussed for the benefit of the individual who wishes to make the most of available resources. Studies by government bureaus, a shamefully neglected source of news, and consumer services will be digested by the staff for simpler presentation to the readers. One page of News for Living will list the twenty or thirty best food buys of the day—as reported by the New York Department of Markets, not by the chain stores—and will suggest ways to prepare and use them. In the sections on housing, medicine, and education *PM* will plump for all three in greater quantity and better quality and at less cost. Some idea of the refreshing good sense with which Miss Hawes is approaching her job can be found in this statement of hers: "*PM* knows that a girl can get all the cosmetics she needs for $1.50 a year, but we don't necessarily think it's immoral to buy a lift—even by paying $7.50 for exactly three cents' worth of perfume. We only think people should know what they're buying when they buy beauty products, male or female."

Apart from the increased freedom of intellectual motion which it allows, *PM's* rejection of advertising provides several journalistic advantages. The fact that no set space has to be reserved for ads gives complete editorial power of maneuver within the limits of the paper's size. Since it does away with any fear that visual displays will compete with paid-for columns, *PM* can use larger body type, drawings, and photographs as it pleases. Since it has no need to fear radio as a rival suitor for the favors of big business, it can report the news coming out of that industry without having to worry lest clients find radio's attractions so appealing that large accounts will go over to the networks. A major feature of *PM* will be a complete radio section containing schedules, news, criticism, and scripts worth reprinting. The fact that it is not a competitor for advertising will give *PM* an added opportunity to criticize the rest of the press.

Through its honest treatment of problems directly affecting the well-being of its readers *PM* promises to make a real contribution to democratic journalism. On broad social and political matters, however, it has thus far offered only the vague statement of principles contained in the stockholders' prospectus:

> We are against people who push other people around, just for the fun of pushing, whether they flourish in this country or abroad. We are against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty, and we will seek to expose their practitioners. We are for people who are kindly and courageous and honest . . .

PM announces, moreover, that to begin with it will have no editorials, but will instead have a page of readers' letters, to be edited by Louis Kronenberger. Since *PM* is frank to admit that it believes objectivity in news writing to be an unattainable dream, one is forced to assume that editorial opinions will largely vary with the individual writers, except in so far as Ingersoll himself fixes policies.

The point is important, for *PM's* political position has already aroused lively speculation. It is no deep secret that a number of Communists and fellow-travelers have been given places on the staff. A sprinkling of journalists of this political persuasion is certainly to be found on every daily newspaper, and their presence is a matter of no particular significance; but when more than an average number of a newspaper's staff fit into this category, the circumstance is not to be explained away as coincidence or even as a noble attempt at proportional representation. It is extremely unlikely, how-

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ever, that *PM* will let itself become a tool of factional politics. The great majority of the paper's working corps are old-line non-political newspapermen, with a fair number of unattached liberals. Nor would a Communist-front organ be likely to win, much less keep, the kind of financial support that has come to *PM*, among whose backers are Marshall Field III, John Hay Whitney, Mrs. Marion Rosenwald Stern (Sears, Roebuck), and Huntington Hartford II (A. and P.). Finally, there is the argument that concerning matters of American foreign policy, a touchstone for the purpose, Publisher Ingersoll is anti-isolationist, in flagrant contradiction of the current Communist Party line. The liberal sprinkling of party members and sympathizers on the staff is difficult to explain, but for the most part it is probably to be attributed to the influence of a few well-placed comrades.

To succeed as a commercial venture *PM* needs a steady circulation of 300,000. Although little has been said about where the readers are to come from, it is assumed that they will be drawn from the most intelligent of the three million who read New York's morning tabloids, the *Daily News* and the *Mirror*. How well *PM* has assessed the habits of its prospective readers is a question that will not be answered for a year or more, but there is some room for speculation. As a five-cent paper *PM* will be the most expensive in the city—two cents above most of its competition and three cents above the two papers whose readers it hopes to attract. Any number of successful five-cent newspapers already exist, but most of them are in cities where that rate is standard.

PM has already risked the loss of large sections of potential readers by its decision not to publish stock-market quotations, display advertising, comic strips, or gossip columns. If, on top of this, it proves unable to match its competitors in sports coverage, it will lose another large group. Its present press schedule is not timed to make possible the publication, even in the final edition, of baseball scores, and the shortcoming has been a subject of debate. But the solution of this and other deadline problems will not be known until June 18, for Ingersoll is keeping *PM's* closing time a secret in order not to be boxed by the other papers.

It is obvious that *PM* will have to leap some sizable hurdles. But they are hurdles of its own placing and hurdles for the most part that need to be leaped in the interests of newspaper progress. *PM* has taken steps toward securing an independence that has long been held impossible under existing conditions. It has accompanied these with a carefully and ingeniously conceived plan for a paper that can take full advantage of all sources of information. It may prove to be something less than the grandiose "adventure in civilization" that its founders predict, but if it surmounts the difficulties that confront it, it will be an exciting adventure in journalism.

Mexico's Phantom Conspiracy

BY HARRY BLOCK

Mexico City, May 26

ON MAY 22 President Cárdenas officially and flatly denied the existence of "fifth-column" activities in Mexico and declared that all such rumors were an invention of the country's enemies for obvious political ends. On the early morning of May 24, and as if to belie the President's categorical statement, came the attack on Leon Trotsky. A score of men, disguised in police and regular-army uniforms and heavily armed with machine-guns and automatic pistols, overpowered Trotsky's permanent police guard of five and poured a barrage of machine-gun fire into his bedroom for several minutes. Trotsky's secretary, Sheldon Harte, either fled or was kidnapped—at any rate he has disappeared. Two cars were driven away from the garage and later abandoned. In spite of the hundreds of shots fired, no one, fortunately, was injured. Trotsky has declared that his attackers were special agents of the G. P. U. sent to Mexico to assassinate him. The Mexican Communist Party has vigorously disowned any connection with the outrage and brands it a plain provocation intended to pave the way for an anti-Communist drive. It should be recalled that Trotsky's presence in Mexico is largely a personal responsibility of President Cárdenas, who granted him asylum here, and the failure adequately to protect him would thus be an extremely grave reflection on the present government.

There are a number of puzzling features in the assault. The police guard was disarmed and bound without disturbance; but despite their superiority in numbers, the lack of interference, and the ample time at their disposal, this gang of gunmen bent on murder then proceeded to riddle the house with machine-gun slugs without hitting anybody. How, in fact, did they enter the house, cut the secret burglar alarms, and make their way so unerringly to Trotsky's bedroom? And how were they able to drive off the automobiles, for which they must have lacked the ignition keys? (The missing secretary

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would appear to be vital to both these questions.) Why, above all, was this particular moment chosen for the attempt, when, if they were really "fifth-column" terrorists, it would have been to their obvious advantage not to give the immediate lie to the Cárdenas statement?

We have here the materials of a first-rate mystery story, but the demand for an explanation is based on more than mere idle curiosity. *El Popular*, Mexico's leading labor daily, called the attack on Trotsky an attack on Mexico and demanded a complete investigation that would reveal the truth. Characterizing the incident as an "outrage for export," it ascribed it to the necessity of Mexico's enemies to produce immediate justification for their charge that the Mexican government conceals fifth-column plotters aiming at an uprising under combined "Nazi-Stalinist" auspices. This accusation has been indiscriminately broadcast during the past several months, and its espousal by the Dies committee, together with the gratuitous offer to "investigate" Mexico, has, as was to be expected, aroused bitter indignation here.

The general theory underlying the charge may be briefly stated: In the coming Presidential election Almazán, candidate of the conservative opposition, has the demonstrated support of the "popular masses." Hence, in order to prevent his election, the "Communist and Nazi followers" of Avila Camacho, the Administration candidate, will stage a coup d'état before the election and seize power through the "armed militia" of the trade unions, setting up a totalitarian dictatorship. The aim of these remarkable shindigs, presumably, is to create such headaches for the United States in Latin America as will impair American aid to the Allies and to provide Germany with a continental base for an attack on the United States itself. This lurid tale, although it has yet to be buttressed by any concrete evidence, has been gravely parroted, with additional embroidery, by the anti-Administration papers in Mexico. Even here, where people are certainly in a position to know better, there are undoubtedly thousands of dupes of the sensation-mongers who are firmly convinced that Mexico stands on the ragged edge of totalitarian rule.

A glance at the concrete situation which this yarn is intended to confuse will reveal the motive back of it. There is one proposition on which both the friends and the enemies of Cárdenas can agree, however violently they disagree about his methods: that his is the first government since 1910 to take literally the neglected promises of the Mexican Revolution and attempt to translate them into action. This is not to say that Cárdenas has "remade" Mexico or that many of his innovations have not been attended by a great deal of incidental hardship. But it is precisely because his policies give promise of ultimate success that the Mexican reactionaries and their foreign mentors who have tenaciously opposed them for five years are preparing a decisive assault on them.

Everyone here knows that while the P. R. M. (Party of the Mexican Revolution) controls the electoral machinery Almazán's chances of winning the election are precisely nil; in fact, Almazán himself knows this better than anyone else, for he has not come through thirty years of Mexican politics without learning the facts of life. There are, then, only two possible alternatives: either Almazán is simply going through the motions of running for President or else he seriously entertains the hope of ruling Mexico. In the latter case, since he can scarcely believe he will achieve his goal by peaceful means, his campaign must be nothing but camouflage for the preparation of revolt; both the P. R. M. and the C. T. M. (Confederation of Mexican Workers) have directly charged him with that intention. It is also clear that in view of the high degree of popular organization behind the Avila Camacho candidacy, such a movement would have to count on powerful aid from abroad. Almazán's prolonged and eloquent silence on the oil question has condemned him in the eyes of most Mexicans as a tool of the foreign oil companies, and when he broke that silence the other day, his acrobatic straddling of the issue simply confirmed the general belief. In Mexico's political struggles, whenever larger social, rather than merely factional, antagonisms have been involved, the reaction has historically never hesitated to seek support against the Mexican people from alien sources. This was true in 1810, in 1857, and in 1913. The situation today conforms in all essential respects to this traditional mold.

The utility of the fifth-column agitation as a smoke screen behind which these plans might mature and also as a means for enlisting foreign sympathy and support thus becomes clear. The pattern hardly varies. In Germany Hitler needed an outrage as a pretext to unleash the Nazi terror and to disfranchise enough of the population to insure complete power: the Reichstag was providentially burned. The Spanish militarists could not move against the Popular Front until its "excesses" had provided what might be advanced as a plausible motive for their treason: churches were burned and widespread violence magically developed. Examples might be piled up almost indefinitely, from all countries. The technique of provocation grows more reckless; its essence remains unchanged. Investigation may possibly prove otherwise, but for the moment the clumsy attack on Trotsky's house seems too pat to be true. It bears all the earmarks of a put-up job in which Trotsky, as well as a credulous public, is being victimized, and it is a logical pendant to the other instances of sporadic violence which have punctuated Almazán's campaign.

There is thus no great mystery about the "fifth column" in Mexico. What is happening is that the witch-hunters, for all their feverish activity, have been looking in the wrong direction. The real potential fifth column is composed of the Almazán following. Fortunately, they

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are a small minority of the population. Fortunately, too, their plans have received a sharp setback from the successful settlement with the Sinclair Oil Company and the renewed prospect of settlement with the other American and British interests, a prospect which has worked a substantial improvement in Mexico's international position, both politically and economically. It is impossible to foresee to what measures of desperation Almazán's friends may eventually resort, but as the situation here clarifies, it appears extremely unlikely that any trouble will develop this summer with which the regular police are unable to deal. Almazán's fifth column seems due to evaporate into the same thin air of which today's phantom of the headlines is composed.

The Apex Indecision

BY I. F. STONE

THE United States Supreme Court, like other oracles, often finds obscurity the better part of discretion. No one yet knows, no one can know, the full meaning of its decision in the Apex case. Six justices agreed that the sitdown strikers who occupied the Apex hosiery mill in Philadelphia during the late spring of 1937 did not violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and need not pay the $750,000 in punitive damages assessed against them. So much is clear, and it is a clear victory for labor. Nine justices agreed that labor unions, despite the exemption granted them by the Clayton Act, are subject to the anti-trust laws, and that is a defeat for labor. Left tantalizingly obscure is the *extent* to which unions are subject to the anti-trust laws.

The Supreme Court's decision in the Apex case cannot be understood if it is read solely as a statement of law. It is best approached as an exercise in judicial power politics and in juristic theology. As judicial power politics, it is the sum of the concessions, evasions, compromises, quid pro quos, necessary to bring about an alliance of six diverse minds for a verdict in favor of the Apex strikers; it is as much the product of haggling as of reasoning. As juristic theology, the decision follows a pattern typical of the pronouncements of institutions dependent for their authority on the possession of a special revelation. The court tries to change its mind without appearing to contradict its past. The court's rulings, like claret, command a more respectful market if decorated with a few cobwebs. The majority sets out, by elaborate legalistic ritual, to demonstrate that its pro-labor attitude toward the Apex strikers is really in accord with the anti-labor decisions of the past, from Debs and the Danbury Hatters down. The danger in this kind of systematized self-deception—an occupational habit inevitable in the performance of a function requiring both adaptability to change and conformity to tradition—is that it may boomerang. A later court may as easily prove that a return to the philosophy embodied in the Danbury Hatters' case is in no way inconsistent with that of the Apex case. Reversal *sub silentio* has its drawbacks. The silence registers more plainly than the reversal.

Our courts have been peculiarly hesitant about using the anti-trust laws against the trusts. The most progressive Supreme Court in our history hesitates even now to give up their use against the trade unions. The sitdown strike which shut the Apex plants lasted fifty days. The sitdown strike of the courts against the anti-trust laws has been going on for fifty years. When Congress in 1890 passed the first federal anti-trust law, the Sherman Act, "trust" was synonymous with Standard Oil, and Standard Oil with Rockefeller. The act was used almost at once to break strikes, but sixteen years went by before any action was taken under it against Standard Oil and five years more before the Supreme Court finally ordered Standard Oil of New Jersey, heart of the Rockefeller combine, to "dissolve." The dissolution decree was effective only in bringing about the disillusion of the trust-busters. Standard Oil of New Jersey common was selling at $600 a share at the time of the decree. Six years after this most gentle of executions $2,390 was bid for the same stock. Like the lady in the sideshow, Standard Oil was none the worse for having been sawed in half.

Talmudic is the nonsense tortured by our courts out of the Sherman Act's provision that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states . . . is hereby declared to be illegal." The net result was a new weapon against unionism while big business combination suffered slight inconvenience. Attorney General Olney early noted this trend of interpretation "as strikingly illustrating the perversion of a law from the real purposes of its authors," but the perversion has continued. Casuistry similarly disposed of the trade-union exemption written into the Clayton Act in 1914. "The labor of a human being," Congress then declared, in a triumph of sentiment over observation, "is not a commodity. . . ." "Nothing in the anti-trust laws," it continued, "shall be construed . . . to forbid or restrain" labor or farm organizations "from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof." The court's alchemy,

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which often operates in reverse, turning gold into lead, easily reduced these words to what had been the worst practice always. Chief Justice Taft found little difficulty in reconciling this "Labor Magna Charta" with court orders jailing pickets as in restraint of trade.

It is clear from the Apex decision that part of the majority would like to grant some recognition after all these years to the Clayton Act's exemption of labor unions from the anti-trust laws but cannot yet muster enough strength to do so. The majority's indecision contrasts with the sharp protests made by Brandeis and Holmes in the past against the anti-labor use of the anti-trust laws, and is painfully feeble after the great reversals of the New Deal period. The majority's inability to make up its mind reflects the split within liberal ranks and the fact that the New Deal has itself begun to wield this old weapon against labor. In the Apex decision the majority creeps toward its goal through a thick underbrush of implications. Labor's chief gain is the majority's adoption of the thesis brilliantly expounded in recent issues of the *Columbia Law Review* by Louis Boudin. The phrase "restraint of trade" in the Sherman Act, he argued, is to be given not its literal but its old common-law meaning. This may seem an erudite quibble, but in the court's verbalistic universe the difference is crucial. Chief Justice Hughes in his dissenting opinion adopts the literal meaning. He says that restraint means "to hold back, repress, obstruct." The majority, speaking through Justice Stone, answers that this definition would bring "practically every strike in modern industry" under the Sherman Act. The majority rules that "restraint of trade" is to be taken "in the common-law sense of restriction or suppression of *commercial* competition" (my italics). The majority admits that the Apex strikers interfered with the interstate transportation of hosiery but declares that this was not a violation of the Sherman Act because it was "not intended to have and had no effect on prices of hosiery." This narrows the applicability of the anti-trust laws to labor.

The majority goes on to give a rough indication of the area of exemption it would allow. Strikes may restrict the power of some employers to compete, but this does not bring the striking unions under the Sherman Act. Success in obtaining wage agreements "may have some influence on price competition by eliminating that part of such competition which is based on differences in labor standards," but this also involves no violation of the Sherman Act. The majority recognizes that unions have a right to "eliminate the competition from non-union-made goods. . . . But this effect on competition has not been considered to be the kind of curtailment of price competition prohibited by the Sherman Act." This, to avoid blunter terms, is disingenuous, but it is pleasant to hear the majority say it. Finally, the majority indicates the limits of exemption. It says that the Apex strike was "not a case of a labor organization being used by combinations of those engaged in an industry as the means or instrument for suppressing competition or fixing prices." Unions, the majority implies, are subject to the anti-trust laws when they conspire with employer groups to cut down competition or fix prices. Fairly interpreted, this is a standard that endangers the racketeer only. If it stirs fear at all, it is because the courts have so seldom been fair in applying the anti-trust laws.

Within the boundaries sketched by this decision there is an important area of ambiguity—the secondary boycott. The majority says labor unions may eliminate the competition of non-union-made goods. The principal means of elimination in the past has been the secondary boycott. Does the majority believe secondary boycotts were outlawed by the Sherman Act? Brandeis, Holmes, and Stone all recorded their belief that this form of boycott was a legitimate trade-union weapon. On this point the majority is coy. First it speaks of the right to eliminate competition from non-union goods. Then it respectfully cites past precedents penalizing secondary boycotts against non-union goods. Later it indicates that secondary boycotts may be permissible. This brings us to another of the pivotal verbalisms in the field of the anti-trust laws—"the rule of reason." In 1911, in order to provide a loophole large enough for the oil and tobacco trusts, the Supreme Court decided that "every contract . . . in restraint of trade" meant every contract in "unreasonable" restraint of trade. Chief Justice White and a majority of his colleagues then proceeded to find most of the oil and tobacco-trust activity reasonable. Now the majority hints that it may make the benefits of "the rule of reason" available to labor. It says that in forbidding the secondary boycott earlier decisions failed to consider "the applicability of that rule to restraints upon commerce effected by a labor union in order to promote and consolidate the interests of its union." If unionization is reasonable, are not restraints of trade arising from union activities reasonable restraints? The majority also asks, again by implication, whether it was proper to forbid secondary boycotts after the Clayton Act had exempted unions—at least in their "lawful" activities—from the anti-trust laws. There is both disappointment and promise in the majority's answer: "We are not now concerned with the merits of either point."

It is the Supreme Court's privilege to change its mind, and a new line-up among the Nine may put a frost upon the tender sprouts visible in the Apex decision. As it stands, the decision weakens the Department of Justice in its attack on the trade unions. The Department has already dropped plans to appeal the District of Columbia Teamsters case. There the department had unsuccessfully sought to use the anti-trust laws to end a jurisdictional dispute. Clearly jurisdictional disputes cannot be attacked as an attempt to restrict commercial competition.

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The distinction drawn in the Apex decision between interference with interstate transportation and restraint of interstate commerce should prove helpful to New York's convicted teamsters. The sudden conviction of the Communist leaders of the Fur Workers' Union under a six-year-old anti-trust indictment may be reversed on appeal as a result of the Apex decision; the Nazi-Soviet pact is not a price-fixing combination. Many of the building-trades indictments are affected. Only those unions which have served as blackjacks for trusts can take no hope from the Apex decision. "We have become," Thurman Arnold wrote, to illustrate the growth of monopoly, "a nation of employees." The Apex decision should help to protect the rights of those employees from Thurman Arnold.

And They Lynched Him on a Tree

A Ballad Poem for a Chorus

BY KATHERINE GARRISON CHAPIN

It is night. In a clearing by the roadside among the turpentine pines, lit by the headlights of parked cars, a Negro has just been lynched. The white crowd is breaking up now, going home, a little sobered, but with a hysterical voice lifted here and there.

WHITE CROWD

We've swung him higher than the tallest pine
We've cut his throat so he can't start to whine!
Come along fellers . . . come along home.

WHITE MEN

Come along home, start up the car.
Gee, but I'm thirsty, and I'll bet that you are!
Come along home . . . come along home . . .

WHITE CROWD

We've swung him higher . . .
Come along home . . .

The moon's gone out, and so have the stars.

WHITE MEN

Come along fellers, start the cars.

Start those cars, it's mighty dark—
Headlights showing where you park.
It's mighty dark, and it's growing cold—
Better go home now the night's growing old.

WHITE MEN

Come along home . . .

WHITE WOMEN

We've swung him higher, higher, higher than the tallest pine!
God, I'm glad he's no son of mine!

WHITE MEN

Come along home . . .

The muttering refrain continues until the white crowd is gone. After a silence a quiet moaning begins as the Negroes gather, feeling their way in the darkness.

NEGRO MEN

Look dere, look dere, is dat a shadow?
Look dere, look dere, is dey all gone?
Creep softly, de dawgs are in de meadow,
Creep softly, de dawgs have just gone along.
Creep softly, watch where you step.
Out of dis black night we'll find him yet.

NEGRO WOMEN

Here's de limb an' here's de tree!

NEGRO MEN

Here's de limb an' here's de tree!

NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN

Here's de limb an' here's de tree!
O my God have mercy on me!

NEGRO WOMAN

Oh sorrow, oh sorrow,
You've taken my hand.
I must walk with you
To the Promised Land.

Oh sorrow, Oh sorrow,
Oh my son!
Oh Jesus, my Jesus,
What have they done!

I can remember the day he was born, and the pains tore me—he was such a man child . . . and the day he left me, goin' down the road . . . down the road to trouble . . . with his too easy smile, too quick fists . . . and him creeping home, running from the men, and the dogs baying in the pine woods . . . I remember the flies buzzing in the courtroom and the judge saying, for the rest of your life, for the rest of your life.

NEGRO WOMEN

He was her baby. At her breast
He drew his life. By her hand
He learned to walk. In her love
She sheltered him.

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He was a man, his proud head
He carried high. Quick with a gun,
Quick with love, he passed by.
Now he swings high.

NEGRO MEN

He was a man, strong with an ax,
Sharp with a gun, ready to laugh,
Strength in his loins, sweated with sun,
Close to the earth. He was a man.

CHORUS

He was a man, quick with a gun, he fell on evil days.
Trouble was after him, trouble followed his ways.
Trouble lay behind the edge of his smile.
Trouble got him in the end, trouble was waiting all the while.
Women all loved him, women came at his call.
They stood in the doorways, they watched from the fence,
They waved from the windows. He was strong and tall,
Women all loved him, but he had no sense.
So he ended in jail, and they gave him "life,"
Took away his name and his coppers and his knife.
Took away his name, in the name of the law,
But justice was a slow thing to be waiting for!

NEGRO WOMEN

He was a man
Strong with love
He passed by.

NEGRO MEN

He was a man
Quick with an ax,
Strength in his loins,
He was a man.

CHORUS

They took away his freedom, in the name of the law,
But justice was a slow thing to be waiting for!
Justice was too slow the white men said,
So they got together when the sun was high,
They marched to the jail, and broke into the cell,
And roped the prisoner to drag him out to die.
They dragged him on his knees, and they lynched him on a tree,
And they left him hanging for the world to see.
Justice was a slow thing to be waiting for,
In the false name of justice they broke the law!

NEGRO WOMEN

Oh my Jesus,
Where is your hand?
They've taken this boy
To a dark land

He did wrong,
But couldn't they let him be,
Not die like this
On a roadside tree?

CHORUS

They left him hanging for the world to pass by,
But a bloody sun will rise in a bloody sky,
A bloody sun will shine across this sand,
And a long dark shadow will fall on the land.
Cut him down from the gallows tree!
Cut him down for the world to see!
Speak to your brother and take his hand,
And clear this shadow that falls across your land;
The long dark shadow, the long dark shadow.
Oh trust your brother and reach out your hand
And clear the shadow that falls across your land!

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Defense Economics

THE extent to which some reactionaries would like to sacrifice the social advances of the last eight years on the altar of defense has been revealed by the *Financial and Commercial Chronicle,* whose circulation is so exclusive that it can afford to be candid: "A catalogue of the policies standing in the way of national defense," it declares, "is virtually a catalogue of the major New Deal policies to date." Specifically it mentions the Walsh-Healey Act compelling government contractors to observe fair labor conditions, the wage-hour law, the Wagner Act, and the new efforts to enforce a stricter interpretation of the Sherman Act. In addition, it advocates appreciable cuts in taxes on corporations and higher-bracket incomes, and of course it would like to see drastic reductions in non-defense budget items—unemployment and farm relief, housing, public health, et cetera.

Supposing that the kind of program desired by the *Financial and Commercial Chronicle* were carried out, what would it mean? Surely an increase in the proportion of the national income accruing to owners of capital and a decrease in that received by workers, employed and unemployed, and by farmers. Further it would mean a redistribution of income inside the capitalist class, for while manufacturers of investment goods, including armaments, would be profiting from assured government contracts, industries and trades geared to mass consumption would face a relative, if not an absolute, decline in purchasing power.

Although I, in common with most readers of *The Nation,* would like to see armaments and profits permanently divorced, I am very doubtful that much can be done about it at the present time. Assuming that we must increase supplies of planes, tanks, warships, and guns rapidly, we shall have to depend on those who control the means of production of these articles. In view of the time element, it would be unrealistic to suggest that the government build up an arms industry of its own. Nor is wholesale requisitioning of existing plants practical except by means of M-day legislation involving the conscription of labor and resources generally. And as long as the emergency remains "short of war," that is a development we all wish to avoid. Thus, in order to

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swell our defenses at the greatest possible speed, we must look largely to private enterprise, and we must expect to pay through the nose. Patriotism is not enough to produce the goods under a system whose vitalizing principle is profit.

It is one thing, however, to reconcile ourselves to paying a tribute to big business; it is something else again to allow business as part of its price to dictate political, fiscal, and social policy. Heavy as the burden of armaments may be, it is not yet such that we are forced to follow the policy of the belligerent countries and reduce our standard of living in order to free resources for defense purposes. With ten million people unemployed we have a large margin for increased production. Last year, with roughly 45,000,000 persons gainfully employed, we had a national income of almost $70,000,000,000. The full absorption of the unemployed should, therefore, make possible an expansion in national income of around 20 per cent, or $14,000,000,000.

The emergency defense appropriations now under consideration in Congress, together with the supplemental $1,250,000,000 which the President is expected to request, will comprise an addition to the national budget of approximately $2,500,000,000. Assuming that the whole of this sum is provided by deficit financing, and that there are no offsets, it will mean in effect an addition to the investment outlay of the country of the same amount. But the addition to national income will be much greater since, apart from the direct employment afforded, a still larger volume of indirect employment will be made possible. This is so because a large part of the wages, salaries, and profits paid out as the result of a new investment pass into the stream of purchasing power and become in turn the basis for increased wages, salaries, and profits in other industries. The extent to which the expenditure of capital adds to national income depends on many variables, but it would be fairly conservative to multiply the sum invested by two-and-a-half. Consequently an extra $2,500,000,000 of defense expenditure covered by borrowing might be expected to swell national income by some $6,250,000,000. This would take care of many of the unemployed but still leave over half the ten million without jobs.

Moreover, we have assumed that there are no offsets, and of course there will be. As unemployment falls there will be a reduction in the amount spent on relief which will reduce to some extent the net deficit. Further additional taxes totaling some $700,000,000 are under discussion. The larger part of this sum, according to present plans, will be raised by levies on articles of general consumption, reducing purchasing power and canceling out part of the benefits of increased defense expenditure. Again, the spread of the European war, which is the immediate cause of our rearmament program, is checking exports. One after another our European markets are being cut off, and the impact of the war on foreign trade, which up to now has been favorable, may shortly become a decidedly adverse factor. Under these circumstances it might be wiser to defer the new tax program until the economic effects of the defense policy have become clearer. We shall make haste slowly by slapping an extra 10 per cent on all taxes alike and calling it a financial policy. To make the most of our resources and to promote the interests both of defense and the economy as a whole we need more careful fiscal planning than that.

In the Wind

NEWSPAPERS HAVE hinted that an exposure of Britain's "fifth column" may break any day, perhaps before this reaches print. The New York *Times*, insiders report, has had details concerning the coming blow-up for nearly a fortnight. Editors discussed them in a private session last week, but since the material was emphatically "off the record," the *Times*, like other dailies, had to wait.

DESPITE INSISTENT criticism of the White House by the Youth Congress, Mrs. Roosevelt is still pushing the organization. Last week she came to New York, urged the Congress to support the President's defense program, was received respectfully, and was voted down. A few nights later she gave a private dinner for Youth Congress leaders and introduced them to influential guests, stilling reports that she was cooling toward the Congress.

OVER NEW YORK Station WMCA recently a commentator reported fierce battles in Belgium and huge casualties. The program was sponsored by the King David Memorial Park, New York; between bulletins from Europe the announcer described the cemetery as a "wonderful resting place."

THERE'S A weird joker in the amended La Follette bill passed by the Senate. The bill provides that Communists cannot be employed in interstate industries. Newspapermen point out that the press, according to the ruling in the Watson case, is an interstate industry. To avoid penalties, therefore, the *Daily Worker* would have to be edited entirely by simon-pure non-Communists.

AN ADDRESS by Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen of Catholic University was reported in a recent issue of the Brooklyn *Tablet*. He maintained, the *Tablet* solemnly averred, that "the only viewpoint worth while in the world today is the viewpoint of faith. It was through faith, he said, that he was able to predict the Nazi-Soviet pact one year before it happened."

ON THE morning that Germany invaded Holland and Belgium newspaper city desks received a new edition of *Facts in Review*, the German propaganda pamphlet. Its lead story, entitled Whitsuntide in Germany, proclaimed, "The festival of *Pfingsten* (Pentecost) is celebrated throughout Germany with a wealth of quaint customs whose sources are rooted both in Christian tradition and in old pagan custom."

THE COMING convention of the Newspaper Guild will be held in Memphis, despite the hostility of that city's officials to the C. I. O. If the city turns thumbs down at the last moment and the Guild can't get a hall, it may hold its sessions on a boat.

[*The $5 prize for the best item submitted in May goes to W. L. of New York for the story about* Facts in Review *published this week.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE President has not yet taken the American public into his confidence in regard to his defense plans. He has not told them how large a standing army a fleet of 50,000 airplanes will call for, and he has given them no indication of what will be the cost of keeping up such an air armada. More than that, he has not told them whether he now for the second time favors a two-ocean navy, or whether he is going to advocate universal military service. As for the financing of the whole tremendous enterprise, that is only just beginning to be a subject of discussion. It is characteristic of the President's method that the financial aspect is entirely subordinated—first commit yourself to a program and then see how you can pay for it. This may be good politics, but it is neither statesmanship nor good finance.

The President has just announced the composition of a civilian board to supervise the carrying out of the industrial side of the armament program—a useful idea. Perhaps he felt the universal disapprobation of the idea that these matters should be left to Frances Perkins, Harold Ickes, Harry Hopkins, and Henry Morgenthau. But none of this goes to the root of a successful defense program. Nor will that program be furthered by such misleading statements as those of his address to the public of May 26. For example, he said then that the navy in 1933 had only 1,127 useful aircraft and that at present it had 2,892 planes on hand or "on order." It appears that no fewer than 1,100 of these planes are on order, and, according to Phelps Adams of the New York *Sun*, "it will be many months under present production schedules before those 2,892 planes that the President mentioned will actually take the sky." In 1933, the President said, we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. Now, he said, we have 1,700 modern anti-aircraft guns "on hand and on order." Actually very few of these guns are on hand. Similarly the President spoke of 1,600 modern infantry mortars being "on hand or on order." Yet today the army possesses only 3 modern six-inch mortars and 163 modern eighty-one-millimeter mortars! Finally, the 1,700 modern tanks and armored cars which the President cited simmer down to but 114 new armored combat cars and 485 lightly armored scout cars now on hand. Is this being fair with the public?

Granted that the President now intends to speed up these programs to the fullest possible extent, the most important thing will still remain to be done. There can be no efficient military defense of the United States until the War Department is overhauled and modernized. Let me recall once more what General Johnson Hagood has said about the War Department:

> It is so involved that no Secretary of War has ever been able to understand it, and no Chief of Staff, however well qualified, has ever been able to keep it under control or to know just what was going on among his subordinates . . . no human being, no archangel of heaven, could operate a machine which is as badly constructed and as complicated as the War Department is under existing law. It is too big. It is top-heavy. It has too many independent agencies working at cross-purposes to each other and with no fixed line of authority or responsibility.

The General has solemnly warned Congress that "if we became involved in a serious war in which we do not have allies to keep things going while we get ready, the War Department would collapse as it did before." In his book he recalled that in 1917-18 America spent a billion dollars on the manufacture of artillery and artillery ammunition, but that not a single shot was fired from an American gun by an American on the western front, except from some railroad cannon of the navy's.

If the President really wanted efficient defense he would not only insist upon the reorganization of the War and Navy departments and put at their head efficient and able men in place of such lightweights as Woodring and Edison; he would go before Congress and demand that the Congressmen and Senators who have insisted for political reasons on maintaining 420 posts, barracks, and forts recede from their position in the interest of an efficient army. He might also inquire why it is that, as the present Chief of Staff, General Marshall, has just testified, it costs the United States $21 to maintain a soldier for every dollar that foreign countries spend for the same purpose. Of course one reason is that the United States pays decent wages to its soldiers, whereas foreign nations pay only a few cents a day. But that is only part of the story. Much could be saved by business methods.

The President must know these things or he is not competent to head a defense program. He must know that if we are to fight the Germans, we must put our organization on a business-like basis, free from politics. But I fear that John T. Flynn is correct when he writes that it looks to him as if the President were merely throwing a smoke screen around his failure to put the unemployed to work and to restore prosperity.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Spanish Civil War

FREEDOM'S BATTLE. By J. Alvarez del Vayo. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

PUT Alvarez del Vayo's black-clad book as a somber period at the end of your long shelf of red and yellow volumes. That phase of freedom's battle called the Spanish Civil War is over, and lost. There is no time for mourning, for the next phase is on us, the phase we might have prevented had we only known then what we know now. That some of us did know some part of it, and were unable to find the words that the rest would listen to, only makes the moment more bitter.

That there is so little bitterness in this book is to the credit of Spain's Foreign Minister, who wrote it out of his own experience in those tragic years. He saw his country strangled in the non-intervention noose which a Tory government in England and a Socialist government in France put about its neck, while a democratic government in the United States acquiesced. He tried with all the power and persuasion at his command to make them see what that course would mean to them, as well as to the Spanish republic, and he failed. His failure brought tragedy to the republic. What we now see is that it helped prepare the tragedy which is overwhelming the rest of Europe.

Both in its official character and in the fulness of its detail this book is so important that it must be appraised not only for what it does but also for what it fails to do. Its positive contributions to the already considerable literature on the subject fall into three groups: it relates certain inside details of the struggle in the international field, it clarifies the clashes of policy and personality in the Republican Cabinet, it emphasizes the military lessons to be learned and applied, with reservations, to what is now going on. The first and the third are of daily importance. The results of the second are still simmering in refugee colonies and relief headquarters. That they may not always remain quiescent is clear to anyone who knows the Spanish habit of alternating between oblivion and headlines.

The most immediately vital chapters in the book are concerned with military lessons. Its account of the systematic way in which Germany used the Spanish struggle as a dress rehearsal for the European war receives fresh emphasis in every day's communiqués. It was in Spain that Hitler carried on bombing practice, learned how to machine-gun fleeing victims with economy and dispatch, trained a steady stream of aviators in the techniques that are taking toll in France. Even his favorite *Blitzkrieg* theory was tried by the generals he was supporting, and though hardly "discredited" by their failure with it, it was proved to need added strength. Spain had minerals, harbors, potential air and navy bases that the totalitarian governments needed—that we all knew. Its strategic importance is still an unplayed card in their hand. What few outside of the German High Command realized was that while Italy had had practice in Ethiopia, Germany's new army needed training ground, targets, practice maneuvers for the testing of weapons both military and psychological. Spain's abortive civil war offered all these, at low cost as long as England, France, and the United States kept defensive weapons out of the republic's hands. In the light of that knowledge, the three years of Republican resistance become an incredible achievement, and a hopeful omen.

The details of the struggle against non-intervention are not so clear. The villains in the piece—Bonnet, Laval, and Downing Street—are there. The legendary Blum, great Socialist statesman, emerges futile and irresolute. But in a farce whose tragic consequences mount daily, those villains shrink to pawns. Señor del Vayo does not show—probably he does not know—just what combination of prejudice, stupidity, venality, and pressure it was that drugged the English and the French governments into playing Hitler's game.

Nor does he reveal—and this he surely does know—the exact proportion of power and the pattern of interaction between parties in the Republican Cabinet. Now that the Popular Front has been torn to bits there are many readers who hunger for those facts. He makes it clear, of course, that the degree of Communist influence and Soviet aid was enormously exaggerated—by the Communists for their purposes, and by the Nazis as a means of paralyzing possible democratic aid to the republic. Perhaps he could not say more at this moment, but the republic owes it to itself and to its friends to set this matter in the open.

Despite these omissions, "Freedom's Battle" remains the most important single book on the Spanish War which has yet appeared.

MILDRED ADAMS

The Crisis in Marxism

STALIN'S RUSSIA AND THE CRISIS IN SOCIALISM. By Max Eastman. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

SINCE the Nazi-Communist pact and Russia's occupation of Poland and invasion of Finland many Marxists have come to the conclusion that collectivism is but the reverse of the fascist coin. They now look upon it as the natural basis of bureaucracy and political tyranny instead of as the road to the new freedom of the classless society as taught by Marx and Lenin.

This view of collectivism, recently presented by Lewis Corey in *The Nation's* columns, is supported by Max Eastman in his latest book. Like others who share the view, Eastman has undoubtedly been influenced by Russia's recent role in international politics. But, as his book shows, Russian international diplomacy culminating in "socialism" on bayonet points is the logical product of changes within the domestic economy. Eastman has been a close student of Russia's internal economy since the October Revolution, and it is to changes inside the country that his revised conception must in the main be attributed. He finds that practically every reform inaugurated by the revolution under the leadership of

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"Knocks into a cocked hat most of the histories of our time."
—*GEORGE SELDES*

The FAT YEARS and THE LEAN

A History of Post-War America

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Lenin and Trotsky has been emasculated by the Stalin machine. Proletarian equality, the greatest ideal of the revolution, is repudiated, he tells us, by a governing élite of officials, technicians, artists, and party bosses. The development of a ruling élite has been made possible by a system of differential rewards in which the typical income of highly placed officials is more than eighty times as great as that of the lowest paid workman. According to Eastman this disparity in pay is as great as that between the average unskilled worker and a top corporation executive in capitalist America.

It is not only the system of gross income inequality but also the receipt of "unearned income" which makes the élite the chief beneficiaries of the usufruct of industry. "These happy beneficiaries of the 'triumph of socialism' . . . are able to invest their income not, to be sure, in risky shares and debentures producing on the average, if they are lucky, 4 or 5 per cent of interest, but in government bonds which pay 7 per cent, or failing that, to deposit them in savings banks where they are exempt from both inheritance and income taxes, and earn 8 per cent of interest." In short, the position of this group is substantially that of the *rentier* under capitalism. (Eastman's statement appears to conflict with Gedye's cable from Moscow to the New York *Times*, April 7, 1940, concerning the new income-tax law of the Soviet Union. The new law, Gedye reports, provides for levies against wages and salaries above 150 rubles and against all other income above specified amounts.) Maintaining that the élite is a new ruling class, Eastman dismisses as wishful thinking the Trotsky position that it is simply a parasitical caste infesting socialized property and perverting its real character. Above all, he contends that in the rise of this new class and the "totalitarian gang-rule" that accompanies it the intrinsic character of collectivism is made manifest.

Eastman thinks that some of the fundamental evils of collectivism arise from its destruction of the free-market mechanism. When this mechanism is abolished, the power of making decisions is shifted from the economic to the political arena. The power diffused among numerous capitalists and checked to some extent by the consumer's and worker's freedom of choice under a system of private property now becomes centralized in the boss of the political machine. Thus by its destruction of the free market collectivism inevitably leads to the suppression of individual freedom and the repudiation of democracy. Now the possibility of retaining the free-market system in a collectivist economy is highly debatable. Eastman, however, fails to consider the question and is perhaps justified in neglecting it, since he is more concerned with the mistakes of the fathers of socialism than with the problems of theoretical economics. From this standpoint what really matters is not whether collectivism must on principle destroy the free market; it is rather the fact that the disciples of Marx have always considered its destruction essential to the proper functioning of the socialist system.

The failure of Bolshevism reveals crucial flaws in Marx's blueprint and in class struggle as a means of social progress. Marx was wrong in assuming that "men, once wealth-producing property is owned in common, will find themselves living together in natural cooperative brotherhood." He also was wrong in holding that "material" changes offer scientific

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proof that "the world is traveling of necessity and by its own motion" to this "higher" form of society. As Eastman notes, there is nothing in the facts of experience to show that human beings are "sufficiently capable of self-dependence and malleable in a cooperative direction, so that a collectivization of property would naturally lead to the society of the free and equal." But Eastman is inclined to place too much emphasis upon the Hegelian metaphysics as a source of Marx's optimistic view of human nature. Marx's view was to a large extent shaped by the doctrines of the natural-rights school and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Like Godwin and others of his predecessors, Marx seemed to believe that man, although fundamentally good, was spoiled by bad economic institutions. Furthermore, it is not only human imperfections but economic facts which render improbable a society governed by Marx's formula "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." This principle could be practiced only if the things desired by men and for which labor and industry must now be expended became so abundant that no one need worry about how much he could have or when he could have it.

Eastman's statements about the pernicious effect of the Hegelian metaphysics upon Marx's thinking are well founded. But the reviewer finds it difficult to accept his remark that Marx's "Capital" is mainly dialectic philosophy. And it is somewhat paradoxical of Eastman to dismiss "Capital" as metaphysics and at the same time retain "surplus value," the most metaphysical concept in the three volumes, for practical use. Of course no one would deny that Marx's analysis of capitalist production was indeed subordinate to his passionate revolutionary interests. Still, many scientific students think that in the second and third volumes of "Capital" Marx anticipated in fundamental respects the ideas of some present-day economists concerning the relation of wages, employment, and investment to the trade cycle. Professor Oskar Lange is authority for the view shared by the reviewer that as a theory of development Marx's economics is vastly superior to the best that orthodox theory offers. The main defects of Marx are not connected with his description of economic evolution but with his predictions of the way people would respond to economic changes. He assumed a too direct and rational relation between economic events and the behavior of human beings. The effect of the past—traditions, social habits, and customs—of which Marx was certainly aware, was thus minimized by him in the long view of social change. Scientific insight may have led Marx to conclude that "the dead hand of the past weighs like a nightmare upon the brains of the living"; but he was constrained by revolutionary ardor to believe that the impact of economic changes would rapidly resolve all antagonisms into the one great antagonism of capital and labor.

The current reexamination of Marx of which Eastman's book is but one example serves to clear the atmosphere for serious thinking on current social problems. The next step, if the forces of progress are really to be regrouped, is to think out a constructive program of action. That this is a difficult task is shown by Eastman's proposals of "What to Do Now." While recognizing conflicting class interests as a concrete fact of life, he would dismiss as sheer mysticism the view of class struggle as a sort of inner dialectic of history.

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With this there can be no quarrel. But here is the rub. Eastman would "marshal the proletarian class forces behind some such program as that which Max Lerner calls 'democratic collectivism.'" This program would retain private initiative but at the same time regulate capitalism through a system of planning boards. What, however, Eastman's book seems to show is that planning, socialist or otherwise, contains the seeds of totalitarianism.

ABRAM L. HARRIS

The Honest Projector

DEFOE'S REVIEW. Reproduced from the Original Editions, with an Introduction and Bibliographical Notes by Arthur Wellesley Secord. 22 volumes. Published for the Facsimile Text Society by the Columbia University Press. $88.

THE honest projector, says Defoe, is he who, having by fair and plain principles of sense, honesty, and ingenuity brought any contrivance to a suitable perfection, puts his project into execution. Defoe had hardly emerged from Newgate when he became an honest projector who put his project into execution. After the agonized uncertainty of jail and the utmost horrors, none the less unreal because largely unrealized, of the pillory, whatever suggestion of a project Harley may have proposed to him must have seemed manna in his wilderness of debt, of dubious Dissenters, of wrathful High Fliers, and of his own teeming imagination. The *Review* in its inception may have expressed the measure of Defoe's gratitude to the shrewd and cautiously generous Harley; but in its fulfilment it was the realization of the character and the peculiar genius of Daniel Defoe himself.

In all its memorable features the *Review* is Defoe. It is Defoe in its unobtrusively organized style—straightforward, homely; a style subtly convincing through its apparent naturalness, fashioned of those words which men actually use but which catch them unaware. It is Defoe in its fecundity of ideas, ideas that, first considered, seem the common concepts of every reader, but that in reality are startlingly original in their simple wisdom and their innate capacity to transform a maze of folkways into an ordered economic and social entity. The *Review* is Defoe in its cautious daring, in its searching criticism tentatively expressed, in its velveted stings of chastising satire, in its gameness and decency amid the coarse brutality of contemporary controversy, in its breadth of observation and its detailed knowledge of existing policies and living men, in its ardor of devotion to a cause deemed worthy or just, in its vivid journalistic sense, its copiousness, and its tolerance. To those who know Defoe only as the greatest forerunner of the founders of English fiction, particularly as the author of the deservedly immortal "Robinson Crusoe," each succeeding volume of the *Review* adds to the stature of its creator as a literary artist and as a pioneer student of social issues. It is not the first English periodical, nor is it the only important journal of its day, for Defoe met steady competition from the *Observator,* the *Post Boy,* the *London Gazette,* the *Daily Courant,* the *Flying Post,* and others. Clearly, however, the *Review* was the most significant undertaking of early British journalism. The physical labor required for the writing and publishing of its

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many hundred pages arouses simple wonder; but when the content of its nine volumes is examined in the light of Queen Anne politics and of Stuart social theories, it stands forth clearly as the first landmark of enlightened journalism.

The *Review* has long been difficult of access to scholars, and well-nigh unavailable to general readers. The surviving sets, most of which are incomplete, are widely scattered in great libraries or private collections. No reprint has ever been made of the entire work, and no selection of its choicest passages is in print. The learned and painstaking editorial work of Professor Secord and the imagination and resourcefulness of the Facsimile Text Society have now completely overcome all the obstacles that formerly stood in the way of an available text of the entire *Review*. In the twenty-two handsome volumes of this edition appears a photographic reproduction of every issue of the periodical from February 19, 1704, to June 11, 1713, except one, which the most diligent search has not uncovered. Included also are the *Little Reviews* made up of Defoe's expansion of his Advice from the Scandal Club, and the rare numbers prepared while he was in Scotland on secret official business. The editor has provided compact, informative introductions devoted principally to bibliographical notes concerning the originals and to consideration of the circumstances under which Defoe wrote.

In every way the work reflects the greatest credit upon all who had part in its creation. May it be the precursor of more efforts of its kind. DONALD A. ROBERTS

Florida Cracker-Folk

WHEN THE WHIPPOORWILL—. By Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

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While Mrs. Rawlings's skill as a story-teller needs no recommendation to a public that has already reveled in "The Yearling," I should like to pay tribute, in passing, to her adroitness in capturing dialectal speech, a tricky art in which I know no writer who surpasses her. This dexterity, along with her sincere admiration and fellow-feeling for her neighbors, makes "When the Whippoorwill—" a distinguished collection, with each story a gem. LOUIS B. SALOMON

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DRAMA

Throttlebottom Redivivus

"LOUISIANA PURCHASE" (Imperial Theater) is a grand show, certain to take its place immediately among the smash hits. Perhaps it is never actually quite so swift and sharp and sure as it promises in the two opening scenes to be; perhaps, even, none of the other turns is quite so good as the rollicking mock-heroics of "Sex Marches On," which is the first song after the opening chorus. But for all that it is at least as good as anything of the sort seen here in a long time—better, I think, than any musical satire since "Of Thee I Sing." Irving Berlin's score is accomplished and his lyrics are witty. The book by Morrie Ryskind is genuinely hilarious at times, though it might, since it starts out as satire, be better if it made more of an effort to maintain some consistency of style and purpose instead of surrendering as easily as it does to the disintegrating influence of the more idiotic conventions of the song-and-dance tradition.

Obviously there is only one person in the world who ought to play the part of Oliver P. Loganberry, the Republican Senator from New Hampshire who comes to New Orleans to investigate corruption while continuing to dream wistfully of the dear dead days when it was still legal for members of his party to be President. That person—whose services must have been secured before the part was written—is of course Victor Moore, and he plays the role with all the mild hopelessness which has made him the most heartbreaking clown of our generation. This time he is not quite a complete fool. Mr. Ryskind has given him just that quiet insight into the ways of crooks which even a dull man might be expected to acquire after a lifetime in politics; and it is a delight to see him turn the tables now and then, though of course he loses in the end when he cannot cross the picket line about the State Capitol which was built by non-union labor and hence is under the ban of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. Mr. Moore is not by any means the only star. There are also the tirelessly energetic William Gaxton, the graceful Vera Zorina, and the expert Irene Bordoni, who, by the way, makes a great deal out of "Tomorrow Is a Lovely Day," one of the most taking of Berlin's sentimental songs. Nevertheless, Mr. Moore is four-fifths of the show for me. Who else could handle a scene like that in which he gazes helplessly at a menu at least two feet square and make painfully funny the sadly apologetic remark to the impatient waiter, "It's in some foreign language"?

But to return to the fact that Mr. Ryskind might well have insisted upon a bit more integrity in his book. A serious love interest we no doubt have to have, but even in musical comedy it is a little disturbing to be compelled to forget periodically that the romantic hero is at other moments the head man among the swindlers and that presumably he (let's just call him Mr. Gaxton) is going to live happily ever after with the beauteous Zorina, bringing up the children she dreams of so sweetly in a very sentimental ballet on the proceeds of one pile of lumber stolen from the WPA and sold once every month to the state of Louisiana. I might add that Mr. Ryskind seems to play pretty consistently for Union League laughs. That is doubtless good box office in a piece designed for the limousine and ticket-scalper trade; it is also anybody's right, since — Senator Loganberry notwithstanding—it is still legal to be a Republican. But it does seem a bit strange coming from a well-known liberal who has even, on occasion, been a valued contributor to these high-minded pages.

"Russian Bank," a sort of romantic farce dealing in shaky amateur fashion with the early days of the Bolshevik revolution, will probably have passed away before this notice appears, and that leaves only "Keep off the Grass" (Broadhurst Theater) for further comment. The latter rejoices in the services of Jimmy Durante, and only he ever succeeds in making it more than a routine review. Even he—as the standard phrase of commentators goes—"has little to do," but he does it with his accustomed frenzy. Like Mr. Moore he is one of our best clowns, but the two stand at opposite poles. Mr. Durante is one of Punch's innumerable progeny—a symbol of brainless energy, something as senseless and overpowering as a thunderstorm, the triumph of vitality over intelligence, or even intelligibility. Mr. Moore is a symbol of no triumph at all. He is Pierrot in store clothes, the eternal victim, the man who gets slapped and does nothing about it. To the Moores nearly everybody else in the world seems to be acting like Durante; the Durantes don't even know that the Moores exist.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

TO GO to the movies often these days is an experience which confirms the observation of happier times: the average picture offered by the great industry is emotionally still on the level of the pulp magazines and intellectually even beneath that. Excellent production, distinguished actors and directors, and impressive technical achievements do not change this fact. It is true, of course, that no collective expression of a given society can be much farther advanced than the society itself, but the point is that the expression can be much less far advanced than the society. This seems to me to be the case with the films. No sane person will ask that a picture reflect the latest turn of the war. Yet the distance between the world we live in and the world the pictures show is too great to be bridged by the excuse of "entertainment." Entertainment, too, has its serious side.

In the past weeks I have seen only one film which failed to annoy me by pretentiousness or falsity or simple stupidity and rudeness. This was "Lillian Russell" (20th Century), not a great picture, not an especially fine picture, but an honest one which entertains in light and pleasant fashion and does it with taste and talent. Half real life, half fairy tale, it is excellently told and sung. It is worth ten films like "Waterloo Bridge," in which the sincerity of the original play was completely lost. Myra (Vivien Leigh, captivating at times) is of course innocent when the dashing officer (Robert Taylor, unsuccessfully painstaking) meets her, and from then on one accident after the other is used to make a plot. Even in this war-time picture the producers failed to use their opportunity to tell a little bit of timely truth.

"My Son, My Son" (RKO), after the best-selling novel, is a very uneven film drama, at times approaching greatness. Brian Aherne as the father never becomes a real person, not to speak of his inability to make us believe that this mediocrity of a man is at the same time a successful novelist and playwright. The picture has one quality though: Louis Haywood as the son gives a very convincing performance. He really makes an unpleasant character live and even makes him likable. The quality of his sharp characterization reminds one of Robert Montgomery's Earl of Chicago.

The other pictures I have seen may

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as well be forgotten. One of the latest, "Torrid Zone" (Warner Brothers), takes place somewhere in the tropics on a banana plantation. The general manager of the American fruit company rules the country and orders the natives shot when they interfere with his business. Nobody objects to the procedure, and the picture draws a lot of fun from this basic situation. Cagney and O'Brien, the old combination, and Ann Sheridan give entertaining performances. The audience enjoyed their tough dialogue and fast shooting. The same audience applauded the Belgian king because he was riding a handsome horse. But suddenly the house became dead quiet when the newsreel changed to show the bombed and machine-gunned Belgian refugees on the roads to Paris.

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

THE second volume of Chopin Mazurkas issued by Victor (M-656, $10) contains a number of the finest of Chopin's achievements in this genre, admirably played by Artur Rubinstein and excellently recorded. There is also fine playing by Serkin—though on a dull-sounding piano—with beautifully matched playing by the Busch Chamber Players in the set of Mozart's Concerto K. 449 (M-657, $6.50); but the work itself, despite occasional exquisite details that are inevitable with Mozart, does not interest me in the way some of the others do. Recording is good.

Worse than the music of our Hindemiths, Harrises, and Coplands is their talk; for listening to the music itself people know at once what it means and what it is worth, but the talk—with its ad hoc aesthetics, its misstatements and misinterpretations of history, and its other confusions—is like parachute troops sent down behind the defenses of people's understanding. Constant Lambert, in his "Music Ho!" dealt brilliantly with the Hindemith brand of portentous nonsense, some of which is quoted in the leaflet issued with the Victor set of "Der Schwanendreher": "What is generally regretted today is the loose relation maintained by music between the producer and the consumer. The composer these days should never write unless he is acquainted with the demand for his work. The times for consistent composing for one's own satisfaction are probably gone forever. On the other hand, the need for music is so great that it is urgently necessary for composers and hearers to come to some understanding at last"—this business-like talk being a defense of the business-like setting down on paper of notes which, when they are translated into sound, reveal not the slightest trace of the emotional impulse that alone can justify the setting down of notes on paper. When "Der Schwanendreher," a viola concerto on old German folk melodies, was first given by the New York Philharmonic in 1937, Hindemith said he had set out to function like the medieval minstrel who expanded and embellished the melodies he played, "preluding and improvising according to his fancy and ability"; and in the leaflet for the recording he has made with Fiedler's Sinfonietta (M-659, $6.50) he tells us his aim was "to try how the old German folk songs could be adapted for today's concert work, e. g., with a modern arrangement and even in the spirit of the originals." But to both statements there is one answer: unlike those of the medieval minstrel, Hindemith's modern expansions, embellishments, preludings, improvisings are —in their astringency of idiom and aridity of feeling—unsuited to the simple old folk songs and twist them into something as distorted as his own music. Performance and recording are good.

In the case of Sibelius the nonsense has been uttered by other people. Good works have been absurdly overestimated; and what is probably the worst of all the insignificant incidental music that Sibelius has composed—the Prelude for a production of "The Tempest"—has elicited from Cecil Gray the statement that it is "one of the grandest pieces of storm music in existence. . . . All the old familiar ingredients—chromatic scales for the strings, whole tone harmonies for the wind, the employment of a vast battery of percussion instruments, the confused rumblings of the double basses—they are all there, but they are exploited with such technical resources and infused with such an intensity of inspiration that they take on a new lease of life. . . . It is a piece of music which is, literally, entirely without any thematic material whatsoever. It consists throughout of nothing but realistic effects of the kind described. . . ." The work is in the Sibelius Society Volume VI issued here by Victor (M-658, $10.50); and Gray's statement is one of many of the sort in the accompanying booklet. The other works in the volume are not for a person whose enjoyment of a work by Sibelius is commensurate with its quality; they are for the fanatic to whose ears music as pretentiously empty as "The Bard" and "In Memoriam" will convey Sibelius's unfathomable profundity, and things as inconsequential as the incidental music for "Pelléas et Mélisande" or as bad as some of "En Saga" will be infused with his "intensity of inspiration." Beecham's superb performances with the London Philharmonic are excellently recorded.

On a single record (15894, $2) are two heavily sentimental Russian songs—Gretchaninov's "The Captive" and Malashkin's "Oh Could I but Express in Song"—and the negligible "Tilim Bom" from Stravinsky's "Histoires pour enfants," all well sung by Kipnis. I prefer Alessandro Scarlatti's charming "Son tutto duolo" and "Le Violette," beautifully sung by Schipa on another single (2062, $1.50).

General Records, 1600 Broadway, has issued the Gamut set of Mussorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death" (MS-5, $4.50)—not the Rimsky-Korsakov versions that Gorin recorded for Victor but the Mussorgsky originals, sung by Moshe Rudinov with the beauty of voice and sensitiveness and subtlety of phrasing that he revealed in the Gamut set of Mussorgsky's "Sunless" cycle.

Bach's Sonatas Nos. 1 and 2 for viola da gamba and harpsichord sounded extremely dull to me when Scholz and Wolff recorded them on these instruments for Columbia, and sound just as dull now recorded by Emanuel Vardi and Vivian Rivkin on the modern viola and piano for Royale (Set 34, $3.50). The performances are good; the recording is afflicted by the rattle I spoke of last week. On a Royale single (603, $1) is Handel's Sonata in G minor, impressive in spots, dull in others, competently played by Eddy Brown, Roman Totenberg, and Ernst Victor Wolff, and recorded with shrillness that gets to be ear-piercing at times. Better recorded is a good performance by the York String Quartet of the moderately enjoyable Boccherini Quartet Opus 33, No. 6 (593/4, $2). The same group did a good job with the Quartet Opus 49 written by Shostakovich, and tripe none the less (Set 23, $2.50).

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

On "The Irresponsibles"

Dear Sirs: Archibald MacLeish's The Irresponsibles, in *The Nation* of May 18, was a splendidly moving statement that may turn the tide in American literature. It affirms the autonomous function of the man of letters, who has aped the artist, cringed before the scientist, or served as a mere instrument of agitation. It asserts the free will of the writer, too long forgotten in a world that has been drugged by fatalism. This is the great voice that has won so many revolutions and made of poets and writers the givers of laws who have stood for truth and for courage and freedom. I know of no document of our time that is more likely to rouse our thinkers and set our intellectual world in action.

VAN WYCK BROOKS
Westport, Conn.

Dear Sirs: I was deeply impressed with the article by Archibald MacLeish in your issue for May 18. It's a grand indictment. Most scholars *are* "irresponsible" in the sense he means.

But at the same time this isn't the whole picture. There's a minority—a very vigorous and definitely "responsible" minority—and a full perspective must include them; not limit the minority to the single though effective voice of Thomas Mann. I'd like to remind Mr. MacLeish of the scholars in the field of science who protested against Hitlerism over a year ago, of those in the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, in the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. Then, too, he must not forget the many active, "responsible" scholars in the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers' Guild, the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Association of University Professors. Perhaps among them are no Voltaires or Miltons, but in the aggregate they embody no small block of "responsibility."

Mr. MacLeish's thesis is predominantly sound. It is quite true that the honorable goal of comparative objectivity has produced a tragic "irresponsibility" that menaces the truths on which all scholarship is based. But at the same time it must be recognized that within the last few years there has been a steady awakening of a sense of this very responsibility, an awakening which is already beginning to show its effects in organizational form. Doubtless it is true that among these scholars there are no writers capable of dramatic leadership by voice or pen; yet there are hundreds of persons, less gifted perhaps and less inspired, who are illumining their modest capacities with a devotion and a perseverance that will in the end carry them far.

Mr. MacLeish, by this article and by his previous writings, has himself contributed notable acceleration to this belated awakening. If as yet he has been unable to recognize a Milton or a Voltaire with powers of utterance adequate to meet the challenge of leadership of these new "responsibles," may it not perhaps be true that he has been looking too far afield? I, for one, should be well content to intrust that leadership to Mr. MacLeish himself.

ROBERT E. MATHEWS
Ohio State University

Dear Sirs: Mr. MacLeish tells us that scholars and writers, by separating their functions, have lost their value for social progress. Mr. MacLeish's argument involves two assumptions, neither of which appears to hold much validity. First, there is the assumption that scholars *could* be writers if they would. Even if scholars possessed the necessary time and the necessary eloquence, the complexity of knowledge they must possess hardly permits of "writing" in the sense of Mr. MacLeish. Useful knowledge is apparently always complicated and quantitative; the "writer" necessarily and inevitably underplays the complexity and quantitative aspects of knowledge, and *ipso facto* is no longer a scholar.

A more serious assumption by Mr. MacLeish, however, is the view that writers could be very effective at the present time. We doubt it. The day is gone, unfortunately, when a hand-press and a pikestaff could serve in the cause of human progress; the avenues of communication are now privileged, and apparently privilege cannot be ousted—neither in Germany nor, one may fear, in the United States—without control of modern implements of war. Mr. MacLeish urges the use of the weapon of honest writing. What is the likelihood of success against outright, subsidized propaganda? What chance does writing have against tear gas and machine-gun?

No. New problems—or old problems in new circumstances—demand new solutions. America will not, in this day and age, be saved by Voltaire, nor by a whole legion of Voltaires.

HERBERT S. CONRAD
University of California

Dear Sirs: I have read Mr. MacLeish's moving words with deep interest. I agree with all that he says about the seriousness of the cultural crisis of our time, and with his diagnosis of the causes that make the scholar and the writer so impotent to meet it. But I am troubled by the post-mortem spirit that pervades his article.

Nothing is to be gained for culture and morality by a silly optimism, and every sensitive person will share Mr. MacLeish's feeling that the present hour is very dark. But is it the hour for defeatism? . . . President Hutchins's proposals for the universities (in "No Friendly Voice" and "The Higher Learning in America") seem to offer a method for overcoming the "kind of academic narcissism" of which Mr. MacLeish speaks. If he sees some weakness in them, I wish he would make a criticism or offer some alternative.

There is one important cause for our present plight that he seems to have omitted from his discussion. It is the disposition which scholars and writers have to act alone, to ignore or find fault with the work of others even when its general purpose is the same as theirs. Such an attitude encourages division, where unity is the great need. Isn't it time for all men of good-will—writers and scholars alike—to bury their differences and unite to defend what is left of civilization? The questions who leads and who follows, who is famous and who is obscure, ought to be forgotten when the whole cause of truth and beauty is at stake.

JOHN U. NEF
University of Chicago

Dear Sirs: The pessimism of Archibald MacLeish will be a sore disappointment to many of his admirers. Especially disturbed will be those who have heard him read his "America Was Promises," with its confident affirmation of the possibilities of American life.

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While one may agree that anti-war writers have trained Young America to be wary of war incitements and distrustful of old slogans and emotional judgments, it is also true that many American novelists, playwrights, and poets have taken an affirmative role in relation to the deep moral and social issues of our day. "Plant in the Sun," "One-Third of a Nation," and "The Grapes of Wrath," to say nothing of MacLeish's own splendid poems, are expressions of the will to redeem the promises of America.

The question is: How long before these promises will be redeemed? Will our deepening economic crisis be solved only through war orders? The sooner the small but powerful minority in business, industry, and banking gives up hampering the efforts of our people to translate the American promise into practical sense, the sooner our people will rally to the values they will defend to the death. These values revolve around such common wants as nourishment, housing, and the human dignity that comes from a feeling of security. Democracy, like Christianity, must not be above revealing itself in daily realities if it is to have meaning for the whole of America. Countless American writers stress this view, and Mr. MacLeish's pessimism may be out of order.

HENRY GOODMAN

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The A.L.P. Progressives Present Their Case

Dear Sirs: The Nation's editorial comment, in its issue of April 20, reflecting on the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party was unfair, unreal, and distorted.

As to the claim of "victory" for the Rose-Dubinsky-Antonini group, 53,000 A. L. P. votes were cast in the party primary, and the Progressive forces obtained a majority of about 5,000. The question of control of the State Committee is now in the Supreme Court as the result of many charges of fraudulent and corrupt conduct by the Old Guard (in a seventy-page complaint); in New York, where the party voters knew them best, Alex Rose, Paul Blanchard, Julius Hochman, Frank Crosswaith, and many other so-called "leaders" of the party were defeated for the State Committee.

The implication that the Progressive forces engaged in "Trojan-horse" tactics is simply fantastic. The overwhelming sentiment of the party membership was against the Rose-Dubinsky misleadership; and the heads of the Progressive group have been in the party since its inception, have been themselves candidates for many party and public positions, and have had the support of most of the other recent A. L. P. candidates for similar positions.

As to "hamstringing" legal tactics—what would *you* do if you were faced by persons in control who utterly disregarded the election laws as well as party rules? Were the courts engaged in "hamstringing" tactics when they supported us in practically every instance because of the "flagrant" and "illegal" acts of the Rose-Dubinsky group?

The Nation stated that it had been informed by "Rose supporters" that the Progressive Committee spent some $30,000, and seriously inquired, "If this is true, it would be enlightening to find out who put up the money and whether there is more to come." No, we did not get "Moscow gold." In compliance with Section 323 of the election law, both the Progressive Committee and the so-called Liberal and Labor Committee to Safeguard the A. L. P. filed reports of their primary receipts and expenditures with the Secretary of State's office in Albany.

The Progressive Committee showed total receipts of $3,027.55 and total disbursements of $2,976.26. Receipts were as follows: dance at Savoy, $410.79; Herman Shumlin, $150; Morris Watson, $50; George Marshall, $50; Ray Torr, $100; loan from Amalgamated Bank, $480; Transport Workers' Union, $150; Local 65, United Wholesale and Retail Union, $200; three mass-meetings, $781. Miscellaneous contributions of $655.76 from smaller mass-meetings held by clubs brought the total up to $3,027.55. The expenditures of the Progressive Committee went for stationery, postage, repayment of the Amalgamated loan, printing, telephone, and telegraph. Not a single penny was spent in payment of salary to anyone.

The expenses of the so-called Liberal and Labor Committee, however, are vastly different. Mr. Rose's committee, whose supporters attributed the fantastic figures to us that made such an impression upon you, admits in its report to total receipts of $25,609.93.

SAMUEL M. BLINKEN,
EUGENE P. CONNOLLY,
For the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party

New York, May 29

Books for Chinese Students

Dear Sirs: An urgent appeal has come from the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations at Chungking, China, for Western books on science, literature, philosophy, history, and particularly for up-to-date college texts and scientific journals. Single books from individuals as well as larger quantities from institutions or publishers will be welcomed.

Books should be sent directly to Chungking by parcel post, the rates of which are 12 cents per pound or 1½ cents for two ounces. However, they will be forwarded if they are sent before October 1 and marked "Books for China" to the New York Public Library, at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, or to the Associated Boards for China Colleges, at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

ALBERT E. KANE

New York, May 24

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES MALCOLMSON is a Washington newspaperman formerly on the staff of the Philadelphia *Record.*

RICHARD H. ROVERE is a free-lance writer living in New York. He was formerly on the staff of the *New Masses.*

HARRY BLOCK is *The Nation's* Mexican correspondent.

KATHERINE GARRISON CHAPIN is the author of "Time Has No Shadow" and other books of verse. "And They Lynched Him on a Tree" has been set to music for chorus and orchestra by William Grant Still, the Negro composer, and will be presented at the Lewisohn Stadium in New York.

MILDRED ADAMS was in Spain during the making of the constitution in 1931. She is the translator of "Invertebrate Spain," by José Ortega y Gasset.

ABRAM L. HARRIS, professor of economics at Howard University, received a Guggenheim fellowship for a study of the economic systems of Marx and Veblen.

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